THE Mennonite Quarterly Review

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EDITORIAL

The Two Youngest Mennonite Settlements in the World are Located in South America, one in southern Brazil and one in central Paraguay, a thousand miles apart. Both were established as refuges for groups of Mennonites who fled from Soviet Russia in the fall and winter of 1929-30. Both groups, particularly the one in Paraguay, present very interesting problems of religious, cultural, and economic development. They represent an attempt to reproduce in a Latin-American environment the life which the Mennonites of Russia were able to maintain for over a century until the establishment of the soviet regime. The Review will present frequent articles on these two settlements. This issue brings one article which summarizes the history of the colony in Brazil in the form of a paper which was read at the 1936 Mennonite World Conference in Amsterdam. The author is Peter Klassen who was leader of the colony for several years until his recent retirement, and who has edited the Brazilian Mennonite periodical, "Die Brücke," since its establishment in 1932. The article on Paraguay deals with a specialized phase of Paraguay Mennonite life, namely that of young people's work. The author is Fritz Kliewer, who was a member of the colony until 1934. Since that time he has been studying in German universities, and after completing his work for the doctor's degree expects to return to Paraguay to take a position of leadership in the educational system of the colony. He was himself the first leader of the organized young people's work among the Mennonites of Paraguay, and is well qualified to tell the story of this very interesting movement. In Paraguay, as in Brazil, the leadership of the Mennonite colonies is intelligent and far-seeing. With splendid vision and energy they attack not only the economic and civil problems but likewise their social and religious problems. In so doing they are worthy representatives of our four-century old Mennonite tradition, for Mennonites have always sought, however they may have failed at times, to mold the whole of life according to their ideals and their philosophy of living, which means nothing less than an attempt to Christianize the entire life of the individual and of the group.

Not Long Ago, Roger W. Babson, the Noted Statistician and Economic Observer who was elected as chief presiding officer of the convention of the Congregational Christian Church, declared that one of the greatest needs of our time is for the church of Christ to separate itself clearly from the unchristian practices of the "world." He spoke as a prophet to an erring generation. Similar voices have been heard repeatedly in recent years. It is becoming increasingly clear to our best Christian thinkers that the Gospel of Christ demands uncompromising application of the eternal principles of God's righteousness to our current life. Social pressures toward conformity to the prevailing popular "worldly" patterns of conduct are very great, and frequently almost irresistible. Yet true Christianity demands non-conformity. Mennonite tradition has always emphasized this principle. Recently the students of Goshen College conducted a three-day forum on this question. One of the papers read at that forum was entitled "The Need for Non-Conformity Today," read by Dr. Edward Yoder of the College faculty. This challenging paper will be of much interest to those Christians who are sincerely trying to solve the problem of "the church and the world."

In Spite of Four Hundred Years of History Mennonites Have Played A Very small part in the literature of western Europe and America, either as furnishing themes or as creative producers. The chief reason for this has no doubt been the fact that Mennonites in most countries have lived in a rural culture and have seldom entered into the higher cultural activities which demand a degree of wealth and leisure as well as learning. Holland, however, furnishes an interesting and significant exception, for in Holland Mennonites have participated in urban life and culture from the beginning, and for the past 300 years have had many men of learning and wealth among their number. Dr. H. F. W. Jeltes, a Mennonite scholar of Amsterdam, Holland surveys for us in the current number of the Review the place which Mennonites have occupied in Dutch literature from 1530 to the present. His very valuable article, though highly condensed because of limitations of space, is the first serious study of Mennonites in literature in any land, and the editors are very grateful to Dr. Jeltes for his very important contribution. The Review hopes to publish similar articles on Mennonites in literature in other lands in future issues.

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THE MENNONITES OF BRAZIL*

PETER KLASSEN

Witmarsum, Santa Catharina, Brazil

I would much prefer to give a personal report to the Mennonite World Conference which is meeting at the revered birthplace of our common history than to send a paper to be read, for I could thus much better give you an impression of the life and the problems which are characteristic of our Mennonite colony in Brazil. But even so I consider it an honor to fulfill the request to give the representatives of the Mennonite congregations of the world a picture of the developing Mennonite world in Brazil. It is quite impossible as yet to speak of a "history" of our colony in a strict sense, for as yet everything is a matter of the present. We lack the necessary distance in time to get a clear perspective on the six years which have passed since the founding of the colony. However, an historical treatise is not expected of me, but rather a presentation of what we Mennonites of Brazil at the present time are experiencing, and furthermore, even though no one from our settlement can attend the conference in person, our revered Professor B. H. Unruh can represent us in a most satisfactory way for those who desire further information.

The story of our migration from Moscow to Brazil was reported in detail in the Danzig World Conference. At that time

* A paper read before the Third Mennonite World Conference, Amsterdam, Holland, July 1, 1936. Translated from the German.

we spoke much about the "constraining of circumstances." It was this constraint, so we were told at that time, which compelled the decision to choose Brazil as a homeland for our refugees. And for a long time many of the colonists in Brazil viewed their migration to this country instead of to Canada as a matter of constraint. However, the great majority of us have learned to understand that it was not chance which governed the choice, but rather that it was God's hand which closed doors and again opened others.

A little incident which occurred in February, 1930, when the first small company of 180 souls was traveling the short distance from the harbor of Sao Francisco do Sul to Itajahy helped many to get the vision. The small coastal steamer which took the place of the giant ocean liner was almost overwhelmed in a terrible storm in the night, and even the most hardened men on board despaired of rescue. But deliverance from the storm was for many, including the leader, Heinrich Martens, a sign from heaven that God had given His stamp of approval to the enterprise. And as it was with the crusaders of the middle ages, the knowledge that "God wills it" gave courage and strength to the travelers.

On February 16, 1930, the advance guard of the first transport of refugees arrived at its destination on the banks of the Alto Rio Krauel. With great speed preparations had to be made to provide shelter and food for the new settlers. The officers of the *Hanseatischen Kolonisationsgesellschaft* gave splendid support with counsel and with deeds. After a month and a half a second transport of 300 souls arrived, and soon thereafter a third transport with 130 souls. Thus in a short time more than 600 human beings were transported into a region of primitive forests approximately 60 kilometers (40 miles) from the nearest railway. I have not space to tell how the relief given to the settlers in the early days was organized, but it cannot be too often repeated that the German government took the young colony under its wings in such a way and to such an extent that every writer of our history must recognize this wonderful service. Then there was the relief which was brought by the Dutch Mennonite relief organization. Germany advanced the funds necessary to pay for the journey across the ocean and for the most elementary necessities required for the establishment of the colony. The Dutch organization brought life and soul into the developing community life of the colony. There was the gift of milk cows, and then the support of the school. I must remind

you of the remarks of our Dutch Mennonite leader, who is so highly revered by the Mennonites of Brazil, Pastor Gorter, who remarked in Danzig when he was asked how Brazil could be helped: "I have only one wish, mainly, that the schools should be well established." Thus substantial help was given for body, soul, and spirit. We thank our brethren in Holland that their relief was so practical and meaningful.

Our flight from Russia was not primarily to establish an assured economic existence somewhere in the world, but rather it was to provide a life for the whole man according to our ideals, a life which has its anchor in a connection with the native land of our brotherhood. This was evidenced in the name which we gave to our settlement on the river Krauel, "Witmarsum" we call it. And daily "Witmarsum" reminds us, "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, Jesus Christ." In humility we subordinate our economic life as well as our spiritual life to Him who has hitherto been the foundation of our brotherhood.

In June, 1930, the fourth transport arrived in Brazil, to be soon followed by others. These newer groups were bitterly disappointed to learn, upon their arrival, that they could not settle together in the valley of the Krauel with the earlier arrivals, since there was not more place for the newcomers in the old settlement. The agent of the German government had selected a narrow plateau on the top of a low mountain chain as the location for the newcomers. This second settlement was located about eight hours by wagon from the first settlement on the Krauel, called Witmarsum. Witmarsum lies at an elevation of only 430 meters above sea level, whereas the plateau lies at a height of 750 meters. A steep ascent along the edge of a rock wall leads from a branch of the Krauel valley to the heights. The first depot for food supplies, together with three barracks, was built at the plateau end of this road, about 45 minutes from the first Mennonite farm which was established on the plateau. A total of seven distinct transports was located on the plateau, so that at the end of the year this settlement consisted of almost 100 families with approximately 500 persons. In 1934 an additional group of settlers was located here, a portion of the Harbin transport.

As early as January 3, 1931, the first primitive school was opened. It was truly primitive, but it fulfilled its function. Two days are memorial days for the settlement on the plateau. First, the

31st of August, 1930, when a special divine service was celebrated on the occasion of the world conference in Danzig, for those who were rescued from Russia. The second day, which will not soon be forgotten, was November 26, 1930, the day when the new colony was given its name of "Auhagen" at the time of a meeting of all the settlers at one of the paths in the forest. Auhagen suffered considerably from the fact that the spring sowing was put in too late, and also from the fact that a long rainy season interfered with a prompt burning of the forest. By contrast, Witmarsum had the advantage of a full harvest year.

The German government had guaranteed the support of the colonists for one year from the time of arrival, so it soon became necessary to establish an economic organization for the settlements. Already by the end of the year 1930 the agent of the German government, before he left the colony, organized an agricultural corporation under the name, "Sociedade Cooperation Agricola Witmarsum." The headquarters of this agricultural co-operative was located in Witmarsum, and a branch was established in Auhagen. Every refugee family was to be a member of this co-operative. The Dutch brethren advanced the necessary funds to build two sawmills, two flour mills, and several stores. In addition they also furnished money for schools, for medical aid, and one cow for each family. And so, with the aid of the German government and the Dutch Mennonite Relief Committee, a basis was established for the further development of the new home. Only one who has had the opportunity to observe how the unorganized German colonists in this country have had to struggle in desperation and often practically sell themselves to the private merchants in the colonies in order to get credit, can appreciate what a blessing the co-operative has been for our colony, and still is. In the other settlements many have had to give up. We thank God and our brethren who have made it possible to establish our co-operative. And then in May, 1932, a small almost unnoticeable creamery was established in Witmarsum. If this last enterprise had not been established, it is doubtful whether we would have been able to conduct our co-operative on an even partially sound basis. Without it we would probably have dragged ourselves along on a miserably low scale of economic attainment.

Even as it was, in spite of outside support, and in spite of the creamery, it was not easy to keep our heads above water. For six

long years we have fought a hard battle for our existence and for the maintenance of our colony. For years our success was so slight that in terms of meeting the minimum for existence in the necessities of life, we really would have to speak of an entire lack of progress. It is only recently that we notice an improvement. But before I tell about the present I must refer once more to Auhagen and to the severe trials which the settlers there experienced, trials which did not leave the Krauel settlement untouched.

The year 1931 was the year of progress. At that time food was still supplied by the relief organizations, and other private sources also contributed. A great deal of forest was cleared. The work on the roads, which is very important in this hitherto unoccupied forest region, was also courageously undertaken, but as soon as it was evident that the harvest was poor, and when the period of support from the outside came to an end, the question soon arose as to how it would be possible to gain security for the immediate future. In the middle of the year there was a temporary period of improvement when several smaller transports of new settlers came from the refugee camps in Germany. The work of the colony was diligently promoted. But at this time a very serious danger arose. Many of the young women of the colony were sent to the nearby city of Blumenau and later also to the more distant city of Curityba, to enter domestic service and to work in the factories in order to secure some cash income for the colony. Quite a number of young men also left to secure work on the outside. However in spite of this danger there was much hope that the colony would soon make substantial progress after the first difficult years were passed, and there was no intention of permitting the young people to leave the colony permanently. A second creamery was established in Auhagen similar to the one at Witmarsum. Further encouragement was derived from the arrival of a number of families from Harbin in June, 1934, for the larger the colony, the greater was the assurance that the entire enterprise would prosper. However only eleven families came to Auhagen while seventeen located in the Krauel settlement.

And then after three years of hard labor, the Auhagen settlement decided in the middle of September, 1934, by a majority vote, to abandon the settlement and to locate on the higher land of Parana where it was thought it would be easier and cheaper to make progress. I do not care to pass judgment at this time on the

Auhagen settlers and condemn them for their decision. However it is clear to us today that the group would have been far more cautious in their decision at that time if they had realized what difficulties accompanied such a change of location. Even today, after almost two years have passed, it is still not clear whether that portion of Auhagen which went to Parana (at least 65 out of 106 families) is better off, or the part that stayed. At present there are 42 families in Auhagen with 220 souls. This group still believes in the possibility of establishing itself permanently on the plateau. It will be hard, for the years of uncertainty have had as their result a much more unsatisfactory cultivation of the land than would otherwise have been the case. In addition, many of the families which stayed in Auhagen are too weak to make a new start with their own strength. Thus for the group in Auhagen the only possible motto at present is: "Hold what thou hast," (even if what one has to hold is small). Our Mennonites have often conquered difficult situations in the past. Perhaps we shall have another victory here at Auhagen. It will be the duty of the stronger settlement on the Krauel to aid its smaller sister with counsel and with deeds.

Let us now return to the Krauel settlement. Here, too, many an arm drooped. Quite a number gave up the battle and left the colony, much too early, in our judgment. Other families which had several members able to work, stayed in the colony, but sent their best workers into the city to earn money with which to secure capital to build up the homestead. Such families were more fortunate in financial respects but not always in spiritual respects. In the course of six years twenty-eight families have left the Krauel. It is true that new marriages and births have made up for this loss and even created a slight surplus, but nevertheless every emigrating family robs the colony of some courage and will to work.

Today the prospect seems to be much better. We believe that the crisis has been overcome. Many are beginning to prepare land for plowing which is of very great significance for us. In the first place plow land is easier to keep clean, and in the second place it is more productive. Our chief crop is a root crop with a very high starch content known as "Aipim," which sometimes contains as much as twenty per cent starch. The price however is quite low so that the cost of transportation over the sixty kilometers (40 miles) to the next railway station can not be justified, for as a matter of fact the cost of transport is about equal to the sale value. For that

reason it is desirable to make the crop pay by refining the starch in a factory near the point of production. However, this requires a considerable amount of capital and here again it was the Dutch brethren who made this construction possible by advancing the necessary funds. By the time the world conference meets in Dutch Witmarsum this new factory, which means so much for our economic future, will no doubt be in full operation in Brazilian Witmarsum, its younger namesake.

Although we have no intention of surrendering to illusions, we have firm confidence today that our colonies will not only continue to exist but in time will prosper. We hope that our dear friends and patrons will be spared such disappointments as were pictured by Professor W. Kühler at the Danzig conference.

Before we take up the spiritual and cultural aspect of our life here let me summarize the development of the past six years. Three periods are evident. First, the time of excessive expectations. The splendid climate, the beautiful landscape, and above all the sense of being safe after the flight from Russia, were no doubt chiefly responsible for the all too rosy hopes of the settlers at the beginning. The second period was the time of reaction. The only moderately fertile soil, the great concern regarding the payment for the debt of the land, the hard labor with the hoe, and many other hardships robbed many a settler of the courage to go on and destroyed his faith in the future. The third period, the pleasant period, is the time of convalescence after having passed the crisis. There are several symptoms of this convalescence. The turn-over in the co-operative store is increasing as a result of the greater purchasing power of the settlers; a number of the young men are working at road building in order to help to pay off the land debt; and building construction is increasing. There are also other evidences which could be adduced to show that things are gradually improving.

However in my report to the World Conference I want to emphasize that which underlies all the life of our group, which carries, strengthens, and sustains us, and has done so throughout the centuries even in these last days as we are being scattered over three continents, namely the power which flows from fellowship with the God of our fathers. The first community building on the plateau was the school house. But a school house among us is always also a church building, for we know that our existence is guaranteed and justified only when we cultivate those values which have come down

to us through the long centuries of our history. It is the church which gives us strength, the church which is founded on Christ, God's representative.

Externally the Mennonite church in Brazil is not united. We have four congregations in the two settlements, and each one has its own constitution and discipline. However the variation in discipline does not keep us apart in divine worship. We have also been working toward establishing an ecclesiastical central office which will represent and promote all our religious and cultural concerns.

Until recently we had in the colony only one legally organized association, the economic co-operative association. It is true that as early as the year 1931 an attempt was made to bring all the interests of the Mennonite settlements in Brazil into one organization known as the "Vereinigung." A constitution and by-laws were prepared and published but this organization was never legally established. Apparently the structure was built too large for the colony at that time. One remnant of that attempt has existed in the form of the office of the colony leader, who has functioned as the responsible agent of the colony and also as the representative of the organizations in Europe.

However just now (May 16, 1936), our first Mennonite conference in Brazil has met and established an ecclesiastical organization known as the "Bund der Mennonitengemeinden in Brasilien." This organization is patterned after the Mennonite "KFK" (Kommission für kirchliche Angelegenheiten) in Russia. We Mennonites are thankful that our new fatherland grants much liberty in religion.

The constitution of Brazil also provides for freedom in connection with our Mennonite principle of non-resistance when we ask for exemption from military service, although this is accompanied by some limitations.

One of the chief means to cultivate and promote the cultural values and tasks which history has given us and to transmit these values to the coming generation is the school. In the matter of schools we are subject to the laws of the land. We have demonstrated our obedience to these laws by sending fourteen of our men in the last two years to take the required examination in the native language (Portuguese) which is required of school teachers by the Brazilian educational authorities. However, we are thankful for the privilege of instructing our children in our mother tongue. We are cultivating close contact with our German motherland in order

to promote and maintain the cultural values which God has committed to our German people. On the other hand we are also doing everything possible to make our children love their new fatherland.

The school buildings have been constructed with funds sent by our Dutch brethren, and the salaries of the teachers in the first years were paid with money from the same source. Of course instruction was given before the buildings were finished. We now have a total of six elementary schools in the two settlements. In addition another school has recently been established by the small Mennonite group which has settled near the city of Curityba. In addition to the elementary schools, a school of higher grade has been established to give our pupils in the lower level a chance to continue their education in the colony. The decision to establish this middle school, traditionally called "Zentralschule," was first taken in October, 1933, but due to numerous difficulties instruction did not begin until April 1, 1935. At present 35 boys and girls enrolled, more than we had expected. Additional teachers had to be engaged, all of whom except one were on full time service. The number of pupils is now 42. The middle school has been strengthened by the fact that teacher David Enns, who had experience in the advanced grades, became available for the school. The total enrollment in all the schools is about 270 children. It is a great responsibility to teach these boys and girls, but we have great hopes for the future.

One of our most difficult problems from the beginning was the health problem. The great distance from doctor and hospital (about 60 kilometers) often led to tragic results. It is a mercy that in both colonies we have been spared epidemics. We have a healthful climate and the infant mortality is low. And yet the subtropical climate brings with it health conditions which were unknown to us before and against which we scarcely knew what to do. In many cases persons in the colony who were trained in nursing or knew something of homeopathy, were able to give good first aid. However we looked longingly to the time when we would be able to have a full time doctor, and finally our hope was realized. In October, 1935 Dr. Dück with his wife, who is a capable nurse, arrived in the colony. In the short time since he has been here we have learned anew to appreciate the blessing of proper medical care. We are also exceedingly grateful for the generous aid which the Dutch brethren have given to support our medical work through the splendid collections which they have taken. We are now at-

tempting to enlarge our medical work so that our medical center will be something more than a mere primitive location. Even though the name "hospital" is perhaps too much for what we are establishing, nevertheless we are proud and grateful for what we have. To have a doctor in our midst after six years of deprivation, and above all a doctor who knows our people, that is truly a gift from heaven.

As far as Krauel is concerned (we are accustomed to use this term to refer to Witmarsum), we can really speak of progress in all the above fields. We have confidence that the God who brought us hither out of Russia will care for us that we will not perish. The future of Auhagen, however, seems darker, and we are also much concerned about the group which has settled near the city of Curityba. Our concern is less about their economic progress, even though we are of the opinion that it is dangerous to depend too much upon one product (up to the present the only source of income has been milk), than it is about their spiritual welfare. We fear that spiritual values which are our precious possessions as Christians and Mennonites are being endangered. For instance it is not possible to keep the Sabbath holy as we are accustomed to keep it, when one is in the dairy business. However the evident power which lies in fellowship with the saints gives us hope that the settlers there will also solve their problems. We are anxious to maintain close connections with this group and with all others who have left our colony.

The limited time which is allotted to me for this address does not permit me to deal with all the questions which are doubtless in the minds of those who are attending the conference. I may be permitted to call attention to one of our grave concerns in connection with the Witmarsum colony, a concern which is based upon statistical data which we have recently tabulated. If all the colonists who originally settled here had remained in the colony the population in our three villages, Witmarsum, Waldheim and Gnadental, would be approximately 190 families with 1050 souls. However, in the course of six years, 28 families with 140 souls have moved away, leaving 162 families with 910 souls. Of this number 338 are children below the age of twelve. Our birthrate in living births is annually on the average 42, a rate of 46 to 1000 inhabitants. Deaths are very few, with an average of three in recent years. In six years we have had 32 marriages. The average net increase per year has been 40 souls. At this rate in twenty years we should double our population.

And now comes the serious question. The available land along the Krauel, our present home, will permit approximately only 20 new families to settle here, and recently seven of these 20 locations have been sold by the land company to non-Mennonite settlers. Under these conditions what will be the future of our settlement? Under present circumstances and attitudes many will try to maintain themselves here as long as possible even though it will be necessary to divide some of the tracts. However it is evident that in the course of time families will be compelled to leave the colony and find another home elsewhere. When that time comes shall we simply let them go or shall we plan in advance to take care of this need. As said above, this problem is not so urgent today, but we must think of the future. We must reckon with the fact that not all of our future families can be cared for in the narrow space available in the Witmarsum colony, if our natural increase continues as at present. However at present we still watch with sorrow the departure of every emigrating family, for every departure weakens the colony, and today we still have plenty of room for new settlers.

Today we are still exceedingly happy when families which have left us return again, but sometime we will have to face the question of what we will say to our on-coming youth when they seek to establish their own homes. Brazil is large, very large. Large is also the danger that many of our people will scatter throughout this broad land and be lost to our church. I am not pleading for complete separation from the rest of the country, for we are interested in contact with all those in this land who earnestly and sincerely seek after righteousness. Nor do we by any means want to be narrow-minded Christians. However we know that we cannot serve the common good and our new fatherland aright unless we continually strengthen ourselves through the forces which God has placed in our brotherhood and in our cultural inheritance. We know also that here in Latin America no particular emphasis is laid on a life of inner strength. I am not speaking of politics or of selfishness, I am speaking only of faithfulness toward God, of faithfulness toward our history as it has been appointed by God, of faithfulness to the church, and last but not least of our responsibility for today and tomorrow. I am glad we can say that the sense of responsibility among us is very lively even among those who for various reasons leave the colony. Those who leave tell us that they do not want to

give up a lively connection with the mother colony and that they have a desire to return to our closed settlements whenever possible.

In no case would I create the impression at this World Congress that I am singing dirges, or that the average settler in Brazil is filled with gloom for the future. On the contrary we are on the whole a young race engaged in courageous construction. Our heads are not hanging. "Wir sind nicht von denen, die da weichen." However we are conscious of the fact that we have a responsibility for the future of our children, the children whom God has given us in so great a number and with such good health. We are well aware that we are the ones who must carry this burden because we are living in the midst of it. And so we do not wish to appear before this conference as those who would in any way be beggars. Yet I feel it to be my responsibility to tell all of you of our Mennonite brotherhood who are gathered in these days in Amsterdam, Elspeet, and in Dutch Witmarsum, of our concern.

The rest of my address shall end on a note of thankfulness. We thank the officials in Germany who have cared for us and still care for us; we thank our brethren in Holland, who have borne with us so patiently through all our growing pains ("Kinderkrankheiten"); we thank our brethren in the faith in Germany and other lands, (the Harbin group is very grateful to our revered Elder Sommer and the congregations which have stood behind him.); and last of all but not least we thank our honored and beloved brother B. H. Unruh, who has led us with such fatherly discipline and motherly kindness.

As we stop and view the reality, the "grey everyday" with all its pettiness and humanity so evident among us here in Brazil, many of us are compelled anxiously to consider the question whether we are still worthy of our fathers. And are we also worthy of all that the Mennonite world of today has done for us to help us to build anew in Brazil. Are we worthy of the kindness and mercy which God is bestowing upon us. These questions no one can answer. We humble ourselves before God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and pray that He will not turn His face from us, that He will bless our settlements, that He will protect our youth in the cities, and that He will bless our whole Mennonite brotherhood.

NOTE: This address was read before the first conference of the Mennonites in Brazil on May 16, 1936, and approved by the conference.

MENNONITE YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORK IN THE PARAGUAYAN CHACO*

FRITZ KLIEWER

Fernheim, Paraguay, temporarily Berlin, Germany

In recent years one frequently hears Mennonites using the phrase, "Mennonites of tomorrow." Here in Germany I have heard it at Mennonite young people's gatherings and also in private discussions. This phrase is significant for it raises the question of the future of our brotherhood. And the fact that our youth especially is discussing this question seems to me to be a hopeful sign for the future of our world Mennonitism. Here and there in our churches in various countries new forces are being set in motion which are endeavoring to counteract the decline of our Mennonite Church and to arouse our membership to new life and to new creative activity.

Evidence of this new life is found also in the discussions which have appeared in recent times in such North American Mennonite periodicals as the *Bote* and the *Mennonitische Rundschau.* Again and again the question of "Mennonites of tomorrow" is raised. Articles are printed which discuss the youth question and give reports about young people's work in the various congregations, in which there is evidence of a seeking for new and better methods in the guidance and development of our youth. Without passing judgment on these views or offering a solution of the fundamental question, I should like to report to the readers of the REVIEW something of the young people's work which is carried on in a small Mennonite group in the remote Paraguayan Chaco, where there is also a seeking for new and better methods in the development of the on-coming generation. The settlement bears the name "Colonia Fernheim."

No doubt most of the readers of this journal are acquainted with the origin and development of the Mennonite colonies in the Gran Chaco. For that reason I will confine myself to a few brief summarizing statements for such as are not familiar with this story. Today about four thousand Mennonites are living in the Gran Chaco, Mennonites from Canada, from Russia, and from Poland,

* Translated from the German.

all of whom trace their origin to the old Mennonite settlements in West Prussia. These four thousand are organized into two settlements, one called "Menno," which is composed exclusively of Mennonites from Canada, and one called "Fernheim", which is composed of immigrants from Russia and Poland. Each of these colonies is composed of 18 villages with an average of 25 families in each. Menno was founded in 1928 while Fernheim was founded in 1930. The small Polish element in Fernheim is composed of Mennonites from the region of Warsaw who joined Fernheim shortly after it was established.

The community life in Fernheim was organized quite rapidly after its establishment. On the very first Sunday after the arrival of the settlers in the primitive forest divine service was conducted under the open sky and in tents. And since the Russian Mennonites can scarcely imagine a divine service without choir singing, choruses were organized in the very first weeks, which to the present time are composed almost exclusively of young people. Sunday after Sunday they contribute to the morning Lord's day worship their beautiful four-part songs. There are almost as many choruses in Fernheim as there are villages. Once or twice a week the singers meet for practice. Within ten months after the arrival of the first settlers a large song festival was held in a great tent in the village of Lichtfelde at which more than 200 singers took part, with an audience of over 700. The second song festival was held in 1934 in the town of Philadelphia which is the center of the settlement. The colony plans in the future to have a song festival every year in connection with the special course for directors. Since the singing is almost exclusively by young people, one must really consider the activity in song as a part of young people's work. Unfortunately the musical activities in Paraguay are no longer prospering as well as formerly, primarily because of the lack of leadership and in part because of the lack of instruments.

Not only music, but also young people's work proper was begun very early in the history of Fernheim, in some of the villages as early as the first year. A number of the young people regularly met in Bible study groups and occasionally rendered public programs. However, the first attempts were not adapted to the level of young people as well as they should have been, and as a consequence a considerable portion of the youth in the villages which

had undertaken this program did not take part. In most of the villages no young people's work was undertaken at all, primarily because of the lack of capable leaders and also because there was little material on hand to contribute to making a success of the work.

Because of these conditions, the young people were left more or less to their own resources, and since among their number were such as had attended the communist schools in Russia undesirable conditions soon developed in several villages. Among the unpleasant occurrences were public brawls on the street and disturbances in the Sunday services, disrespectful behavior toward older people, disobedience to parents, etc. The villages of course attempted to combat such excesses, and a number of those who were guilty were brought to account and punished. However, due to the fact that the settlement as a whole was not united in the choice and application of punitive measures, and since also some of the parents were inclined to shield their own children, the desired effect was not attained.

The climax was reached when some of the young men who were employed on the agricultural experiment station at Palo Santo, 90 kilometers east of the colony, [at the beginning of the year 1932 about twenty Mennonite young men were living there] became guilty of intolerable excesses. By chance there were among the twenty several young men who had come under bad influences in Russia. Here at the experiment station the group was entirely without supervision and thought itself safe from the colony and its leaders. The reports which reached the colony of the misbehavior at the experiment station led to increasing concern, and finally compelled the colony leaders to take action. At the request of the chief magistrate of the colony (*Oberschulz*) the young men involved were all dismissed at the end of the year 1932. Most of them returned home to the colony and began at once to make trouble there. Finally some very extreme misbehavior in connection with a social gathering at Rosenort at Easter time 1933 led to energetic action. Several of the villages undertook their own measures of punishment on their own young people, but the colony management also laid very severe penalties on the young rioters.

This experience created a strong demand in the colony for an active and effective work among the young people. It was clear to all that a thoroughgoing training and education of the young people was necessary because it was the young people in Russia who were

most influenced by communism. Consequently a number of men were commissioned to organize work among the young people. In early May, 1933, the first conference of youth workers was held in Lichtfelde at which representatives of practically all the villages took part. Here an agreement was reached regarding the method which was to be used in undertaking the work. The group was convinced from the beginning that whatever was done should reach the entire youth of the colony. It was agreed also that the work should not be undertaken by one of the three church groups which are represented in the colony but should be built upon a common Mennonite basis. There was agreement upon another point also, namely that the young people's work should not be limited to religious work but should include the cultivation of the peculiar cultural heritage of the group as Mennonites and as Germans. The conference appointed Julius Legiehn and Friedrich Kliewer to outline a program of work which was to be adopted at the next conference of youth workers.

In the meantime work was actually begun. By the end of July, 1933, young people's groups were organized in almost all the villages of the colony, each of which was under the direction of a leader. On August 20 these groups met in the first young people's conference in the village of Friedensfeld and organized the "Deutsch-Mennonitischen Jugendbund der Kolonie Fernheim" (German Mennonite Young People's Federation of Fernheim Colony). This action provided the external form for the youth work; with it the organization was to a large extent completed. But now the real task was to be undertaken, namely to put content and life into the form, without which the work could not succeed. But this was much more difficult than the youth leaders had thought. The initial enthusiasm soon disappeared, and it also soon became evident that the supply of capable youth leaders was limited. In consequence the federation leaders were frequently called upon to help in the work of the various villages. Also the church organizations occasionally caused difficulties in the work because many of the elder brethren did not understand the purposes and goals of the work and unjustly attributed various undesirable intentions to the new organization. However the work went on in spite of difficulties and by the end of October, 1933, it was possible to hold the first general youth conference (*Jugendfest*) in Fernheim. It met in the village

of Waldesruh. That was a great occasion for the youth and for the whole settlement. To house the festival a special tent was erected with room for approximately 700 persons. The young people of the village had decorated the interior with branches and flowers and other festival materials. A rostrum was placed at one end of the tent, and above it hung in large letters the motto of the conference; "Vorwärts, aufwärts, heimwärts!" The motto was composed of the first word in each of the three verses of the conference song which was to be sung at the close of the meeting.

Early in the morning of the appointed day groups of young people began to arrive in the host village, riding on ox-carts through the forest. Since Waldesruh lies on the western edge of the settlement, the representatives of the villages in the northeastern part of the colony, the so-called "Harbin Corner", had 25 to 30 kilometers to travel. These groups had started the evening before in their "ox-mobiles" and traveled all night to reach their destination. On such a journey the travelers sing through the night one song after another and announce their coming in the village with a song. Long before the beginning of the meeting the tent was filled to the last place. Song after song was heard even before the opening of the festival, as ever and anon some one called out verses.

Since by no means every one in the colony has a song book the songs are either sung by memory or are "lined." Throughout the day songs, recitations, and addresses filled the program, and a happy festival spirit infused all the activities. The youth of the Chaco were having a great time and did their best to make the gathering a success. The songs which had been practiced in advance were sung with great enthusiasm, and it was thrilling to hear the splendid music which poured from over 400 young throats. The noon meal was served to the entire company at long tables under a dining tent. The girls had baked biscuits of various kinds for this purpose while coffee and tea were prepared on the grounds. The entire day was a great success, and all felt that God's blessing was upon the conference and upon the whole young people's work in Paraguay.

At the close of the conference when the young people sang as one voice the song "Aufruf zum Kampf", the older people who were present were caught up in the enthusiasm of the meeting, and those who had hitherto been opposed to the young people's work for

various reasons changed their attitude completely. One of the older brethren arose to express his feeling in a speech of approbation. The song "Aufruf zum Kampf", which was sung for the first time in Fernheim at this conference, has since become the young people's official song. It gives expression to the purposes and the attitude of our youth, and for that reason I herewith present the text:

1. Jetzt, Jugend auf, es gilt den Kampf mit allem aufzunehmen
   Worüber man in unser Zeit sich muss errötend schämen!
   Will auch Satan wettern und uns niederschmettern,
   Wir halten unsre Waffen fest. Weh dem, der von der Fahne lässt,
   Er muss unterliegen, niemals kann er siegen!

2. Wer feige mit dem Strome schwimmt, wird nie zum ganzen Manne;
   Wer nie den Mut zum "Nein" sich nimmt, bleibt unterm finstern
   Banne.
   Darum tapfer weiter, wir sind junge Streiter
   Und fürchten uns vor keinem mehr, gilt's doch des ew'gen Reiches
   Ehr',
   Gott wird Sieg uns geben, gilt's das ew'ge Leben!

3. Wer's hören will, der höre es, wir wollen nicht mehr schweigen,
   Wir wollen unser Kreuzpanier vor allen Leuten zeigen;
   Nieder mit dem Schlechten,—Bahn dem Reinen, Rechten!
   Wir stehn in dessen Namen da, der Sieger ward auf Golgatha;
   Es ist Jesu Sache, Jugend, kämpfe, wache!

The young people's conference in Waldsruh proved to be a powerful stimulus to young people's work in Fernheim. The various local youth groups launched into the work with new courage and fresh enthusiasm. The church organizations also were now ready to approve the work, and manifested their confidence in the leadership of the movement by supporting the work as best they could. The elders in charge of the work of the three Mennonite branches attended the meetings of the leaders of the young people's groups. These latter meetings which were held from time to time were meetings of counsel and planning for the further extension of the work. In addition discussions and reports were provided to aid the leaders of the local groups in the practical conduct of their work. When I visited the local groups in April, 1934, during the time of the "cotton vacation" which we had to introduce into the school year, I was happy to observe active life almost everywhere. The blessing of God was evident upon our young people's work, and He has given His stamp of approval upon it. Excesses among the youth

such as occurred in the earlier years of the settlement are not only no longer found, they are now altogether unthinkable. Almost the entire youth of the colony has voluntarily joined the young people's work (Jugendbund). At the close of the first business year the new organization had thirteen local groups with approximately 350 members.

Early in June, 1934, a three day institute for young people's leaders was arranged in the village of Schönau. Here papers were read on such themes as "Bible lessons for the youth," "The Sex Question," "The relationship between Christianity and Culture," "The Cultivation of Singing," and various other topics. Each day's work began with a period of devotion and prayer, and closed with a special program. The first evening program consisted of addresses by several young people's leaders to a large gathering of youth. On the second evening a meeting for parents was held at which the importance of young people's work was emphasized. The third evening, which was Sunday, consisted of a program which was put on by the young people themselves, and at which approximately 400 were present from the whole colony.

The leaders' institute also decided to publish a small news sheet in behalf of the young people's work. The first number of this new publication appeared at the time of the second young people's conference in August, 1934. It bore the title "Kämpfende Jugend," and appeared as a supplement to the colony monthly publication called "Menno-Blatt." The purpose of this publication was clearly expressed in the first number. It is also to be a connecting link between the Mennonite youth of Paraguay and the Mennonite youth of the rest of the world. The editorial introducing the first number closes with the following paragraph:

> "And now, our little paper, go thou out into the wide world. Be thou a welcome guest in the simple homes of the Chaco youth; fly thou across the continent to Hammonia, where the pine trees rustle, and fly further across the equator, across the white snow fields and frozen rivers to North America; but forget not also to stop in the land where the gnarled oak tree is at home whose topmost branches whisper a mystic manifestation of the German spirit which will never perish."

The chief difference between the young people's work in Fernheim and the young people's work which has been carried on hitherto in other Mennonite communities, is to be found in the fact

that it endeavors to promote our Mennonite and German cultural heritage as well as our spiritual well-being. The first and most important phase of our work is ever to be Jesus Christ our Lord to whom we desire to lead our youth. The motto of Menno Simons: "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ," is also our motto, and it is printed as the motto of our young people's periodical. The same truth holds for our youth in Fernheim that echoes through the writings of our forefathers in the faith; "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved, than the name of Jesus Christ." But we also desire to have our young people become convinced Mennonites who cherish the heritage of their fathers, and who are willing to work for the maintenance of our brotherhood. In this respect our congregations have been somewhat careless in the past.

In addition, since the World War, we have received a new insight into the significance of God's provisions through creation for our well-being, provisions which include not only family, occupation, and state, but also the nation (*Volk*). We believe that in South America we find ourselves in a peculiar situation where the dangers of the future in this respect will be much greater than they were before the World War in Russia, in Poland, and in other countries, and for this reason we are endeavoring to arouse and strengthen the national (*völkischen*) forces in our midst, so that we shall be strong to resist the forces of degeneration which will attack us from the outside. After all we as German-speaking Mennonites belong to the great German national and cultural group, and we wish to affirm our participation in "Germandom." What the Canadian Mennonites of our neighbor colony, who left their homeland for the sake of maintaining their German schools, rather unconsciously feel, that we in Fernheim wish to make conscious and fruitful in the training of our children and youth. The elder of the Canadian Mennonites in the Chaco, Martin Friesen, said to me on the occasion of a visit shortly before I left Paraguay, "We are convinced that the bounds and limitations which God in His wise purposes has established between the nations may not be broken down without loss." The Canadian Mennonites no longer maintain a living connection with Germany, but they do maintain in traditional faithfulness their religious and national character. The Fern-

heim colony on the other hand endeavors to strengthen the connections with Germany which were established at the time of our escape from Russia in 1929-30, and to do this in cultural as well as in economic respects. This purpose is also one of the purposes of our young people's work.

The following types of work were developed in the course of the first year of our young people's organization. The youth of each village meet regularly once a week, usually on Wednesday evening. The first meeting of the month is devoted to Bible study and prayer. A large proportion of the young people have voluntarily pledged themselves to daily Bible reading and follow the outlines of the "Jugendbund für entschiedenes Christentum."—The second monthly meeting is given to the study of our Mennonite history. For this study we secured a number of copies of the *Geschichte der Taufgesinnten Gemeinden,* which was written by several Swiss Mennonite historians, and we have been using this book as the basis of discussions and lectures. In addition to this monthly meeting we seek to develop our Mennonite consciousness by celebrating annually a special "Mennonite day." On this day in each village the young people present a program. This gives the inhabitants of the entire colony a chance to participate. In January, 1934, we celebrated the 375th anniversary of the death of Menno Simons, and on January 24, 1935, we celebrated the 410th anniversary of the founding of our brotherhood in Switzerland. The year 1936 served as the memorial year for Menno Simons, with special emphasis on his conversion from Catholicism. At exactly the same time that the Mennonite World Conference was meeting in Holland, Fernheim also was celebrating the memory of Menno Simons in programs which were designed to emphasize the work and significance of this man for our church.—The third monthly young people's meeting is usually devoted to addresses on the history and development of Germany in the past and in the present. Interest in Germany is very strong in these latter years among both young and old in as much as the settlers in Paraguay owe their rescue from Russia to the German government in so far as human as well as divine aid made that rescue possible. For this reason Fernheim follows the development of affairs in the new Germany under Adolph Hitler with great interest. From time to time the various young people's groups also have special "German Nights" which serve to stimulate the national feelings of the group.

—The fourth meeting of the month was devoted in 1934 to the study of a book by Hoefs entitled *Was lieblich ist und wohl lautet* ("Whatsoever things are lovely and of good report"), a book on good manners. The evening also included a brief music practice period. Whenever a fifth weekly meeting in the month was possible it was usually devoted to singing. Since the choruses of the colony are devoted exclusively to spiritual songs the young people's organization also studies German folk songs. The need for this arose when we discovered on our outings and other social gatherings that we had no common treasury of songs, and consequently it was decided at one of the leaders' institutes to have all the young people's groups practice one common song every month.

Several of the young people's groups have attempted to present short popular dramatic sketches, as for instance, "Die Hugenotten," "Die Salzburger," "Drei Tage aus Gellerts Leben." The attendance at these presentations was so large that the programs had to be repeated several times. The young people also endeavor to add their part to the annual celebrations of the colony such as the memorial day for the deliverance from Russia, harvest home days, Sylvester, etc., by means of recitations, songs, and dialogues.

To increase the opportunity for reading good books by the youth, a traveling library was established in 1934. This was done by gathering together books from the various villages into one collection, and adding to the collection several new purchases. Each local young people's group has a book box of its own which is brought to the book-center, where it is filled with reading material for use in the village. After use it is returned to the center and exchanged for new books. This traveling library has proved to be of very great benefit to the young people.

The second annual young people's conference of the Fernheim "Jugendbund" was held on August 5, 1934, in Philadelphia, the "capital" of the colony, shortly before my departure from the Chaco. This time the conference was held in the roomy auditorium of the official colony building which had been completed during the summer. Again, as at the first conference, more than 500 young people were present to stimulate each other by means of addresses and other presentations. Externally the conference was similar to the first one in Waldesruh. Only this time the conference had a theme, "Youth and Joy." The theme was printed in large letters

in a motto which hung over the rostrum. It was reemphasized continually in songs, recitations, and addresses: "Joy in the Bible, joy in the Church, joy in the colony, joy in nature, joy in music, joy in nationality," etc. It was such questions which were presented to the youth at this conference.

On the evening of this day I took my departure from Fernheim and from the young people's work which had become so dear to me, in order to spend several years in study in Germany. The necessary changes in the leadership of the "Jugendbund" had been made at an official session the day before the conference. As a result of the election the following officers were chosen to conduct the work of the "Jugendbund": Julius Legiehn, Peter Klassen, and Nikolai Siemens, who together constitute the executive committee. God has continued to bless the work so that progress has been made in various directions. The executive committee visits all the local groups each year and stimulates them to activity. Each year in August the annual young people's conference is held. In August, 1936, the theme of the conference was "Bereitschaft zum Dienst" ("Readiness to Serve"). The theme was discussed from various points of view such as readiness to serve in the church, readiness to serve the colony, readiness to serve the state, and readiness to serve our people. The leaders' institutes have also been held regularly since the beginning.

Unfortunately recent economic difficulties such as drought, crop pests, inflation, etc., have led to a serious crisis in the life of the colony, and the young people's work has suffered somewhat. It is difficult to find the leaders and means to strengthen the work. Public activity in Fernheim is carried on largely by a few leaders, and the work is almost too heavy for them to carry. For this reason it is necessary to develop new leadership among the young people through our schools and through our young people's work if we are to continue to develop effectively in the colony. We must have leadership which is both capable and willing to assume the constantly growing task of building the entire life of our Mennonite colonies in the Chaco.

In addition to the general work of the young people's organization as mentioned above, there are several additional special tasks which rest upon our shoulders for the future. 1. We must try to overcome the divisions between the various branches of our brother-

hood and reunite them again. 2. We must seek to maintain and develop the heritage of our Russian Mennonitism. This last is a particular task of ours because Mennonitism in Russia has been almost totally destroyed, and of all the groups which have been able to escape from Russia, the group which came to Paraguay has the best opportunity to reproduce constructively the life which characterized the Mennonites of Russia.

As the question concerning the character of our Mennonitism of tomorrow becomes increasingly earnest in our thinking, we must see to it that every young Mennonite assumes a responsibility toward our brotherhood and willingly does his duty. If this can be accomplished we need not fear for the future of Mennonitism in the world.

THE NEED FOR NON-CONFORMITY TODAY*

Edward Yoder

The Christian life is today, as it always has been, an incessant conflict, an endless war. The conflict is one of righteousness against sin, truth against error, light against darkness, of God against Satan. All this is, of course, a figure of speech. Figures of speech may be and often are deceptive. Natural darkness for instance may perhaps be defined as the absence of light, but sin in the Biblical sense is something more than the absence of righteousness, evil is often more than the lack of goodness. In other words sin is not merely something negative, it is an active principle that works in human experiences. Sin has, as James in his Epistle (1:15) says, its own genesis, its stage of maturation, its growth and development, and in the end its full fruition. It is this positive and active nature of evil in the world, that leads the writers of Scripture frequently to represent the fight against sin as a violent conflict. The progress of the Kingdom of God is not so much an advance into an unoccupied terrain as it is a slow progression, every inch of which is bitterly contested by the forces of spiritual wickedness in high places.

This grim conflict is not carried on entirely within the individual's heart. Some phases of the battle have social and group implications. God uses not only individual soldiers in the campaign against sin, but also groups whose solidarity may make an added impress upon the serried hosts of the foe. The conflict has many and varied aspects. It includes, of course, the work of winning individuals to give their personal allegiance to God and His divine program. And it includes besides all else, the process of displacing hate and envy by love and goodwill, selfishness by unselfishness, harshness by kindness, in general of displacing worldliness in thought and life by spiritual power and godliness. Education is thus also a part of the conflict.

We have employed the figures and metaphors of military life thus far in speaking of the advancement of the Kingdom of God. The writers of Scripture do so at times. But figures of speech and metaphor are necessarily partial and one-sided. They are sugges-

* An address given at the Goshen College Non-conformity Forum, Dec. 9, 1936.

tive rather than descriptive, and one must always understand them for what they are, else we may easily be misled and come to false conclusions. It is even thus when we represent the conquest of sin by the forces of righteousness as a warfare. We find therefore that also quite another line of metaphors and illustrations are used in Scripture to represent the advancement of the Kingdom of God. It is the figure of growth and progressive development. This idea appears notably in the teachings of Jesus, especially His parables.

The idea that the Kingdom of God is something that grows, a movement that is propagated by seemingly slow and patient effort, this idea suggests another line of thought that we do well to consider and think upon. The process naturally involves sowing, nurture, cultivation, careful husbandry on someone's part. Not any considerable part of these activities depend ultimately upon human effort, yet we are as Christians privileged to be workers together with God in advancing His work and kingdom. Many illustrations, homely and crude in their way, from the practices of plant husbandry, might be used to represent various phases of spiritual culture. The principle of the hot bed and of hot house culture, or the specialized conditions of nursery and experimental work under which the plant wizard develops new and choice flowers and fruits, these might be used to illustrate how God has at times in the course of history isolated individuals and groups, has nurtured them through special revelations of His will, for the purpose of developing new spiritual and moral forces, which were used in bringing blessing to the world of mankind. Separation, a measure of isolation, or if we will, of non-conformity to the prevailing environment, has been necessary for moral and spiritual culture in all ages.

Take, for example, the history of the Jewish nation as the record of the Old Testament gives it to us. When Jehovah called Abram to separate himself from his family, his kin, and homeland, He enunciated the basic purpose of the principle of separation and of non-conformity. We have these words in Genesis (12:2-3): "I will bless thee, and thou shalt be a blessing, . . . and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed."

In these words which the Lord Jehovah enunciated to Abram, there is the definite statement that the separation to which the future father of the faithful was being called was to have as its ultimate goal a world mission, the bringing of blessing upon the whole

of mankind. We are sufficiently familiar with the subsequent Biblical history to appreciate how God has kept His promise and has honored Abram's obedience to the call to a separated life. In order to train, prepare, and discipline a group of people who could be a channel of spiritual and moral blessing to the world, they had to be separated from their immediate surroundings, they had to be schooled by special care and particular nurture. They needed to develop a tradition and a national culture that embodied higher ideals of monotheism, of spiritual service and worship, of moral performance, than prevailed among mankind at large at that time. Behind the whole of the Old Testament history lies this philosophy, as expressed in the words of R. G. Moulton, "the religious conception of the People of Israel as the Chosen Nation, ordained to represent their God to the other nations of the world, that through them all peoples may be blessed."

Christ in the New Testament taught that His followers are a group of people separated from the world around them in their faith and their life. The world, as He taught, will be basically hostile to this group, and partly so because of their separation from the world's life. He made no provision for the corporate or geographic isolation of His followers, but promised them a divine power through the personal indwelling of the Holy Spirit to be His witnesses. For more than two centuries the church grew marvellously in the face of more or less constant antagonism. Naturally the Christians of this period had no comprehensive ecclesiastical organization, but there existed a compact and concentrated fellowship that marked them off from the world and society at large. Discipleship cost something then. Men and women became Christians often at the peril of their social standing, their economic security, and even of their lives. At the same time there was among them a moral fervor, a spiritual dynamic and intensiveness that characterized the Christians and their testimony such as the Church in later centuries has rarely exhibited, at least not as a whole. Her separateness and non-conformity at that time gave her a moral and spiritual effectiveness that could not be stopped by any opposition.

After the time of the Emperor Constantine, when persecution of the faith by the state ceased and the membership of the church became inclusive instead of exclusive, much of this was changed and the Christians as a group lost their separateness from the

world. As Walter Hobhouse puts it, "The Church made alliance with a world which became Christian in name, but in name only. It no longer cost anything to be a Christian, indeed, it cost much *not* to be one. The element of sacrifice in individual discipleship disappeared; the spiritual standard was degraded; the body corporate was corrupted." The line of demarcation between the Church and the world was fatally obscured. The world, as Bishop Wescott once said, got into the church in the fourth century and we have never since been able to get it out. To quote a bold metaphor from another author: "The spirit of the world, by inoculating society at large with a very dilute and attenuated serum of Christianity, secured for it a measure of immunity from violent and inconvenient attacks."

During the centuries that have passed since the time of Constantine, when the Church won its nominal victory over the Roman world, but which was also the precise time that, as the Dutch scholar, H. J. Heering, claims marked the fall of Christianity, during these centuries the work and influence of separated and non-conformed groups has still continued, separated now from the Church as well as from the world in general. Mediaeval monasticism represents one line of non-conformism that flourished under the wing of the dominant Catholic Church. Men and women who sought for a deeper spiritual culture, and for a better opportunity for devotion and meditation than they found amid the general life of existing society, isolated themselves in convents and monasteries, and the history of the Middle Ages, testifies to the high service rendered in the moral and spiritual uplift of those dark centuries, and to the missionary activity carried on for the Church by the monastic orders. Clearly monasticism was a type of non-conformity that served in its day for the development of spiritual life and of a degree of spiritual power that was a genuine blessing to the world.

Another type of non-conformism that during the same ages kept alive a line of Scriptural testimony for the New Testament standard of faith and life is represented by the scattered groups of non-conformed sects who were usually persecuted by the Catholic Church as heretics. They exerted a silent influence in their time, and became the spiritual ancestors of the more spiritual phases of the religious reformation in the sixteenth century. When later the leading Reformation Churches became state churches, the non-con-

formist type of Christianity, those believers who laid more stress on spiritual life than on ecclesiastical arrangements, these continued as the sects of the centuries since then. They have served a useful and necessary purpose in emphasizing a spontaneous and spiritual type of church life, in stressing a knowledge of the Scriptures and obedience to them, in exemplifying holy living and active testimony.

The record of the work and influence of the non-conformed sects during the centuries is interestingly outlined in a quite recent book entitled, *The Pilgrim Church,* by E. H. Broadbent. This book deserves to be strongly recommended for reading by all who are interested in nonconformity as a phase of Christian history and witnessing. On page 381, this author summarizes as follows, in answer to the question whether Christians can, and should, continue to carry out the New Testament teaching and example as to the ordering of Churches; "There have in all times been brethren who have answered 'yes' to the question; though they have been called by many names, Cathars, Novatians, Paulicians, Bogomils, Albigenses, Waldenses, Lollards, Anabaptists, Mennonites, Stundists, and others innumerable, many congregations also of Baptists and Independents, and assemblies of Brethren, they have been one in their faithful endeavor to act upon the New Testament and to follow the example of the New Testament churches."

The assertion is sometimes put forward that the separated sects of Christians have served their day of usefulness since most of the principles to which they once witnessed are today widely accepted among Protestant Churches generally. They point for illustrations to such principles as the separation of Church and state, freedom of worship, baptism on confession of faith, missionary work, and some others. It seems reasonable to consider seriously whether this suggestion might be correct. On points like those just enumerated it might be said that the sects have served their purpose and their day of usefulness. For the principles in question have been widely adopted in various countries of the world, and some are regarded as axiomatic in modern Christian thinking. Yet we must remind ourselves that Mennonites and the other sects did not advocate separation of Church and state and other like principles as mere items in a church reform program. These points were incidental to their interpretation of and obedience to the Scriptures. They were as such hardly basic to their thinking even. The in-

fluence Mennonites have had on Christian thought has been chiefly a result of their serious attempt to obey God and to serve Him at the cost of sacrifice and suffering.

And so the question remains: Is it really necessary today to maintain religious groups of separated, non-conformed Christians in our present-day so-called Christian society?

In the early centuries, of course, when society and life were everywhere thoroughly pagan, naturally the Christians had to be non-conformed and separate from the society and life about them in order to be Christians at all. In Reformation times, when the dominant type of Christianity was still given to intolerance, to alliance with the civil state, to an inclusive church membership, there too the sects were needed as a fellowship for those who tried to obey the Scriptures. But today in the United States, why should a group like the Mennonites try to do more than keep up perhaps a separate ecclesiastical organization, why should they endeavor seriously to preserve as a group distinctive practices and distinctive ideals in morals and spiritual matters?

The answer to this question, in the writer's mind, can be found in two main considerations. There may be others, but these two will be briefly noticed here. There is first of all the teaching and precept of the Scriptures. So far as Jesus' teachings are concerned, He foresaw for His serious followers no time in the future when the inevitable tension between His way of life, His divine Gospel and the life of the surrounding world will cease to exist. And even if we were so optimistic about the triumph of Christ's Gospel in the world as to believe that at some time His way of life will be universal among men and the need for nonconformed minorities will accordingly cease, yet no one who knows the New Testament would rise up to assert that such a time has already come in the world of today. We cannot say that the fruit of the Holy Spirit, love, joy, peace; forbearance, kindness, benevolence; good faith, meekness, self-restraint, is being harvested today in the lives of the masses of our population. And until they are, Jesus certainly means that His serious followers are to be a salt to the earth and a light to the world. They are to influence the world by being different from it. Men to be His disciples are asked to forsake parents, and possessions, and all that they have for the Kingdom of God.

The teachings in the Epistles on separation are quite as applicable today as they ever were. Paul in II Corinthians 6:17 quotes the call of the Old Testament prophet to separation and applies it to Christian believers: "Come out from among them, says the Lord, and touch nothing unclean, and I will receive you." And everyone knows the familiar passage in Romans 12:2: "Stop conforming yourselves to the present age, but be transformed by the entire renewal of your mind." The implication in these passages is that so long as the age in which Christians live is evil, or is not permeated by the spirit and life of Christ, that long Christians are to be aloof from it, living a separated and a holy life.

The second line of thought in determining whether separating as a principle is still necessary today is found in considering the nature of American life today, especially the type of democratic thinking and practices that prevails widely among us. The Christian must always preserve an objective and a critical attitude toward the dominant spirit and life of the period in which he lives, toward the ideas that are most popular at any time, and towards all phases of the *Zeitgeist*. The Scriptures, the spirit and teachings of Jesus, the direct leading of the Holy Spirit must always be the touchstone by which the serious believer tests the modes, customs, thought habits and patterns, the ideas and opinions that happen to be dominant at any moment.

During the past two centuries of Mennonite and Amish history in America, the practice of separation from the world has been fostered even by the social and cultural conditions that existed on the continent as a whole. There was the frontier psychology and the spirit of individualism that went naturally with it. There was the fact too that these people lived almost entirely in rural communities, and more or less in compact and partly closed communities at that, a circumstance which further fostered the psychology of isolation and segregation. Culturally the use of the German language in worship up to fifty years ago, and the wide use of the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect even to the present, have kept up the same feeling of separateness to a marked degree.

It is needless to emphasize the fact that some of these conditions are changing slowly but surely, and are destined to continue to change more as time goes on. And not only is the frontier psychology of an earlier day giving way to a closer social and cultural integra-

tion in our land, but there are certain features of the dominant type of American life whose purpose it seems to be to obscure the lines of demarcation between Church and world, between things spiritual and things material, between moral excellence and just respectable indifferentism.

Among the factors that work against the attainment of high moral and spiritual excellence on the part of individuals and groups in modern America a number may be named as typical examples. One is our system of State education, a system that emphasizes the secular and material side of life, even in many places excluding religious teaching. When children for 12 years have been in charge of the state, they tend to become pretty much like the average members of society in their habits of thought and behaviour, unless very specific efforts are made by the home and the church to instil in them ideals and habits that are above the average level of performance. We do well to reflect that nowhere in our history have Mennonites left their children to the State for their education as has been done by us.

Most people are in the habit of thinking of the United States as a Christian nation. It is true that in the country's early history there was injected into our national life and institutions a definite Christian flavor, at least of a formal and nominal kind. But the good moral impetus that was given to the country's life by the early Puritan tradition, and that of other distinctive religious groups, has been gradually dissipating itself and is apparently disappearing from our national *mores,* partly ousted by ridicule, partly by simple desuetude. One may here think of Sabbath desecration, gambling, amusements both brutal and frivolous, the use of liquor, and the growing laxness along these and other lines in America. We know, of course, that people cannot be made moral and spiritual by means of laws and the police. Yet the loosening up in these matters reflects the changing public sentiment and shows how lower and ever lower standards of life are becoming respectable in public esteem and are finding acceptance as being correct American practice.

The generally shallow and superficial content of the term democracy in American thought is hostile to superior achievement in many lines. To be democratic in the American sense one must lower his ideals, his habits and practices, to the general mass level of the citizens. And a very insidious form of social pressure operates

to force everyone to conform to the mass level and to be a regular fellow. To be set off from the mass by a little more refinement in manners or in taste, or by intellectual interests that are above the thirteen year mental age of the average citizen, or finally to live a moral life of superior integrity or conscientiousness, any of these is likely to incur silent disapproval in the popular mind. Norman Thomas some years ago wrote: "Conformity is the social law in America. We wear the same sort of clothes, read the same sort of magazines, belong to the same sort of social organizations. We have our fads gregariously."

A Spanish philosopher named Ortega wrote a book entitled: *The Revolt of the Masses.* He thinks he finds the best illustrations of mass-mindedness in our United States. To quote a sentence from him: "As they say in the United States, to be different is to be indecent." Does not this describe the feeling we ourselves have about distinctive church practices. Another quotation from this writer is well worth pondering. He says: "There is no doubt that the most radical division that it is possible to make in humanity is that which splits it into two classes: those who make great demands on themselves piling up difficulties and duties; and those who make no demands on themselves, but for whom to live is to be every moment what they already are, without imposing on themselves any effort towards perfection." The latter class is dominant everywhere today.

Something like this is the prevailing psychosis in America, such is the atmosphere we live in and breathe. The ubiquitous radio and movie show are making this atmosphere more general, more all-pervasive all the time. The tendency has been to glorify the common man, which may be well enough in its place. Yet when the standards of intellectual and cultural taste, of morals and of spirituality are in the process of being reduced to the lowest denominator common to every citizen of the land, the serious Christian cannot acquiesce. It seems to the writer that this tendency about us should be a tremendous challenge to our church to practice nonconformity as a matter of Biblical principle. We must, of course, guard against the practice of nonconformity on merely unsocial or anti-social grounds. There is hardly any danger of that if we practice it on grounds of Scriptural principle, though we may expect to be misunderstood and misjudged and misinterpreted as un-

social and un-American by those who are made uncomfortable by the living testimony of a higher moral and spiritual life in their midst.

Liberal Christian writers like C. C. Morrison have for years been declaring that it is simply impossible for the individual Christian to live out the Sermon on the Mount amid the social and economic order as it exists today. So these persons work diligently to change the social order, so that, as they say, men can obey Christ. Seventeen and eighteen centuries ago men and women were able to obey Christ, and it amounts to unbelief and cowardice to say that it cannot be done today. If the Church today, if Christian people would cease conforming themselves to the ways of the world, would at the cost of their ease, comfort, popularity, security and all that, separate themselves for their divine mission, the same miraculous victory over the world would result as did in the early centuries. If the professed Christian Church at large will not do so, let small groups heed the call to challenge the prevailing lukewarmness, indifferentism, worldliness, spiritual apathy of respectable society, by living a separated life, a Christ-like life, a nonconformed life. True enough, it will cost something. But Christ did not promise ease and comfort and security to His followers, and who that has experienced the redeeming love of God cares two straws for such things, when he can have a part in the greatest program the world has ever heard of, the advancement of the Kingdom of God among men.

Before closing we may perhaps say a word about the individual aspect of nonconformity. As believers in Christ we should not think we have exhausted the content of nonconformity when we have transferred our conformity from one pattern to another, from the world to that of some church or sect. There is need for non-conformed groups, to be sure, for a solid mass is more effective than a multitude of scattered atoms. Yet Christ calls men and women as individuals to give personal allegiance to Him. He gives them the Holy Spirit to consecrate and implement the personality and individuality of each one for effective use in His kingdom and Service. Though nonconformity for a group needs some definite forms of outward expression, yet it is essentially a nonconformity of spirit, of mind and thought. This fact needs to be constantly emphasized. The individual personality also bears a responsibility

to God, which cannot be wholly discharged by blind conformity to any group. Every Christian should look to God for the guidance of his individual life. He should not be satisfied with merely doing as well in his moral and spiritual life as the average of his group does. He must conform to Christ more than to even a non-conformed group. Only in this way can he grow in grace and in his likeness to Christ.

MENNONITES IN DUTCH LITERATURE*

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The role which the Mennonites and other groups spiritually related to them have filled in Dutch literature has been a dual one, on the one hand active and on the other hand passive. On the one hand numerous poets and writers of varying significance have come from their circles, and on the other hand the group has constituted on the passive side an object of discussion in literature, a discussion which has consisted chiefly of contumely and derision.

The creative literary activity of Dutch Mennonites begins with the very earliest Anabaptist documents from the times of persecution and martyrdom in the Sixteenth Century. In these stirring, at times deeply moving, and always very personal testimonies—of human suffering, of devotion to husband and wife and children, of the torturing concern of the future of loved ones, and of the calm and unshakable devotion to faith and readiness to suffer which rises high above all suffering and thinking, we often come suddenly upon a childlike-pure, ingenuous beauty which the writer did not consciously strive for and which he very likely was wholly unconscious of. Consider for instance the letters of Hendrick Verstralen (1571) and Maeyken Wens (1573), or the little song by the former, or the warlike, somewhat heavy, trumpet song of Anneke Jans, the impetuous, passionate pupil of David Joris, or the song by Margriet and Janneken, who were cast into the Scheldt River after they had been brought secretly to Antwerp and condemned to death, or the many martyr stories and the many martyr hymns. The ancient documents produced by these martyrs (letters, testaments, farewells, confessions of faith, etc.) were collected and published in a volume called *Offer des Heeren,* which appeared in 1562 for the first time, and to which a *Liedtboecxken* was added beginning with the edition of 1563. The entire volume was reprinted in 1904 by Professor Dr. S. Cramer as the second part of *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica.* The *Offer des Heeren* is not only a collection of valuable historical material, not only a worthy and precious monument to the suffering of the first Anabaptists, but it also contains a treasury of

*Translated from the German.

literary beauty, concerning which literary historians such as Kalff and Prinsen and the strict critic Busken Huet, as well as the theologians De Hoop Scheffer, Cramer, Kühler, and Knappert are quite agreed. The large *Martelaers-Spiegel* by T. J. van Braght, which appeared in 1660, was a continuation and expansion of the older Martyr-book.

Of the multitude of song books the following should be mentioned as the most significant and most well known: The *Geestelick Liedt-Boecxken* by David Joris, which contains songs from 1529 to 1536 and in particular the already mentioned song by Anneken Jans (the only extant copy is in the royal library in The Hague); the *Lietboeck* by Hans de Ries, the Waterlander preacher of Alkmaar (1582), in which appeared a translation of "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" which is praised by Professor Kalff; *Een nieu Liedenboeck* (1560 and 1562) and *Veelderhande Liedekens* (1569), both thoroughly discussed by Kalff.

The song books which were intended for use in individual cities, villages, and congregations are one or more levels lower in literary quality. Such are *'t Groot Hoorns Liedtboeck* and *'t Kleyn Hoorns Liedtboeck* (both of 1644) and *Het Rijper Liedt Boecxken* (1669), the *Middelier Liedboeck* (1651), *'t Gheestelijck Bloem-Hofken* (Haarlem 1637), *'t Gheestelijck Kruydt-Hofken* (Amsterdam 1637), Claes Stapel's *Lusthof der Zielen* (Harlingen, 1686), Alle Derck's *Lusthof des Gemoets* and *Agter-Hofje* (Groningen, 1732), etc.

The first Mennonite in the field of *belles lettres* proper was Carel van Mander (1548-1606). Having fled for conscience sake from the southern Netherlands to Holland, he settled in Haarlem in 1583, where as a painter he became the close friend of the noted artists Cornelis Corneliszn van Haarlem, Hendrick Czn. Vroom and Hendrick Goltzius, and where he is also supposed to have been the instructor of Frans Hals. In 1604 he moved to Amsterdam where he died and was buried in the "Old Church." His famous work called *Schilder-Boeck* (1604), in which he attempted to fuse psychological and novellistic material with biographical and historical data after the fashion of Vasari, still has value in the field of the history of art, especially for the history of the Dutch and German schools. As a poet he participated zealously in the movement to transplant the Italian renaissance to Dutch soil. In 1597 he pub-

lished translations of Virgil's *Bucolica* and *Georgica* with a sonnet to H. Goltzius as an introduction. Later he published a commentary on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid with an abundance of mythological details (later published as an appendix to *Schilderboek*). As a Christian poet he wrote *Gheestelycke Liedekens* in the booklet entitled *Golden Harpe* (1613, although the first edition of 1599 bore the title of *De Harpe oft des Herten Snarenspel* attached to the *Hooghe Liedt Salomo*); he also wrote hymns in the booklet entitled *Bethlehem, dat is het Broodhuys, inhoudende den Kerstnacht . . . Liedekens of Leysen, die de Herderen . . . 's nachts, hun vee wakende, singen met verlangen na de comste Christi.* Among his writings is an attempt at an epic poem entitled *Olijf-Bergh ofte Poema van den laesten Dagh,* which likewise did not appear until after his death (1609). Several of his poems also appeared in the *Nederduytschen Helicon* (1610).

Another writer belonging to the same literary period of the rhetoricians (*Rederijkers*) who has often been classed as a Mennonite was Roemer Visscher (1547-1620), the author of *Brabbelingh* and *Sinnepoppen* (both of 1614), two productions which are neither poetic nor ingenious, but which are only moralistic pieces in prose to accompany a series of symbolical copper etchings by Claes Jzn. Visscher. However, there is no adequate ground for his classification as a Mennonite. Some consider him to have been a liberal Catholic while others hold that he was a Calvinist with a tendency toward libertinism.

Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679), the great master of the golden age of Dutch literature, was of Mennonite ancestry, both from his father's side and his mother's side. His father, a milliner (*hoedstoffeerder*) by trade, had been persecuted in Antwerp because of his Mennonite faith, like the parents of Vondel's mother, and had fled to Cologne, where the poet was born. Later the father with his family migrated by way of Bremen to Holland, where he settled in the year 1597 in Amsterdam and set up a merchandising business in stockings. His gifted son, at first a faithful Mennonite and even during the years 1616 to 1620 a deacon in the Waterlander congregation which met in the church called "At the Gate," and a close friend of many of the preachers of this congregation, later joined the Remonstrants and finally the Catholic church in the year 1641. The grounds for this spiritual migration are to be

sought perhaps first of all in the very human longing for a religion with compelling and established authority, but also in the desire of the poet for mystical experience, and probably as well in the deep disillusionment which he experienced as the result of the unedifying quarrel between Hans de Ries and Nittert Obbesz which split the Mennonite church in Amsterdam in the years 1624 to 1627, and against which he wrote his poem "Antidotum" (1626). Vondel's drama *Gijsbreght van Aemstel* (1637) was a harbinger of this inner change for it is already full of Catholic atmosphere. Many of his later works can be considered as a literary defense of his newwon faith: for instance, the dramas *Maeghden* (1639), *Peter en Pauwels* (1641), *Maria Stuart* (1646), the poems *Brieven van der Heilighe Maeghden* (1642) and *Eeuwgetij der Heilige Stede te Amsterdam,* and a didactic prose work entitled *Altaergeheimenissen* (all written in 1645). Vondel wrote two beautiful poems for the dedication of the Remonstrant Church in Amsterdam (1630). Unfortunately very little evidence appears in Vondel's writings of his earlier faith, concerning which he says in his poem *Toetssteen* (1650) that he was bound to it in his youth only because it was an inherited doctrine for him, *("door errefleer").* A few traces however are found, chiefly in the scattered verses which he composed for the etched portraits of several well-known Mennonite preachers, Hans de Ries, Cornelis Anslo, both of whom he esteemed highly (the latter etching was one by Rembrandt of 1641), Lubbert Gerritsz and Antonius Roscius.

Another Mennonite literary figure who, like Vondel, became a Catholic, was Reinier Anslo (1626-1669), a poet of average ability with some outstanding moments, and a nephew of the abovenamed preacher Cornelis Anslo. He lived many years in Italy and died in Perugia. *Roomsche Lier* is the title of his collected poems, in which the influence of Vondel is very evident. Pastor Dirck Rafaelszn Camphuysen (1586-1627) although not a Mennonite but rather inclined to the Remonstrants, should be mentioned in passing as a meritorious pious poet who was highly esteemed among the Collegiants, and whose version of the Psalms was sung by them for many years, even as late as the closing of the Collegium at Rotterdam on January 11, 1788. Joachim Oudaen (1628-1692) was of a similar type in religious as well as in literary respects. He also, like his father, joined the Collegiants, and he also com-

posed a version of the Psalms entitled *Uytbreiding der Psalmen* (1680 to 1681). He had been for a time a deacon in the Waterlander Mennonite Church in Rotterdam. He composed a short poem in connection with the portrait of Menno Simons (Dr. G. J. Boekenoogen in *Doopsgez. Bijdr.*, 1916). He cultivated among his lyric poems a type which was seldom used in the Dutch poetry of that day, namely the description of landscape paintings. The physician and theologian, PIETER LANGEDULT, member of the Flemish Mennonite Church in Haarlem, composed several Christian dramas, including what might be called a Passion.

The gifted poet and etcher, JAN LUYKEN (1649-1712), son of an educated school teacher, an independent thinker who had connections with both the Remonstrants and the Mennonites and who later came into contact with the Rijnsburger Collegiants and finally joined the Mennonite group of which Dr. Galenus Abr. zn. de Haan in Amsterdam was the leader, was the creator of the best Dutch lyric poetry after Vondel, Bredero and Hooft, particularly in his youthful poems which were published in 1671 under the title *De Duytse Lier*. His very effective love poems, often filled with the most fervent love of nature, belong to the best of such poetry of the 17th century. However here and there among these poems there is evidence of a certain melancholy which forecast a later spiritual change. After a silence of seven years he published a work called *Jezus en de Ziel* (1678) which reveals the influence of Jacob Böhme. This fine poetic work portrays the heaven which may be found in the human spirit when the light of God shines in and when the voice of God is heard. His work entitled *Voncken der Liefde Jesu* (1687) is likewise full of the same quiet blessedness, the same mystical submergence in God, the same fellowship with the Lord. Other religious poetry which he published later appeared in *Spiegel van het menselijk bedrijf* (1694) which contains poetic comments on trades and professions of all kinds which are represented in a long series of etchings from his own hand. On the other hand *Zedelijke en Stichtelijke Gezangen* (1704), *Beschouwing der Wereld* (1708), *De Onwaardige Wereld* (1710), *Het leerzaam huisraad* (1711) and *Des menschen Begin, midden en einde* (1712) are chiefly of didactic character. His etchings, which accompany his poems, probably contributed more to his unusual popularity among Dutch Protestants of the most varying views (which lasted more than two centuries), than

those which appeared in van Braght's *Martelaers-Spiegel* of 1685 or even his great collection of etchings called *Icones Biblicae* or *Afbeeldingen der merkwaardigste geschiedenissen van het Oude en Nieuwe Testament* (1708, 1729). Under the impression of the great and often entrancing beauty of Luyken's best religious poetry, even the most strict orthodox folks forgot that the poet had gradually distanced himself from all external forms of the church in religion. In 1673 he joined the Mennonite Church in Beverwijk, where he lived for some time after his marriage, and in the following year he transferred to the Mennonite Church in Amsterdam, after his settlement in that city. He seems earlier to have had strong tendencies in the direction of the Collegiants, like his father and his brother Christoffel. For a short time in the year 1699 he withdrew from the city and from the world of men to a quiet country place near Haarlem. Later (1703) he went to Schellinkhout, not far from Hoorn, but soon thereafter he was living again in Amsterdam. There he lost his wife and his three children (his son and pupil Caspar, the etcher, died in 1705) by death and in 1712 he followed them to the land which he had long since sought in his pious Christian faith.

The good Claas Bruin (1670-1732), an honorable bookkeeper in Amsterdam, belongs to the comfortable, somewhat commonplace literary provincialism of the time. He was the diligent author of several minor moralistic and historical dramas and poems and in addition of *Kleefsche en Zuid-Hollandsche Arcadia* (1716), *Noord-Hollandsche Arcadia* (1732), and *Speelreis langs de Vechtstroom op de uitgegeevene Gezichten van de Zeepepraalende Vecht* (1719), in which he endeavored to praise the beauty of the landscape in certain districts in a somewhat pastoral style.

The wealthy merchant Sybrand Feitema (1694-1758), likewise an Amsterdam Mennonite, actually undertook to climb the summit of Parnassus. However after his first and only tragedy entitled *Fabricius* (1720), he limited himself to translations of French dramas. His teacher in grammar was the Mennonite Lambert ten Kate Hzn. (1674-1731), a grain dealer in Amsterdam, a many-sided and gifted dilettante in art and science of all sorts, the author of *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* (1723) and of *Oeffen-Schets over het vereisch der Dichtkunst* (1724). The first named work contains a study of the development of sounds and the voice, and a method of teaching the

same. He had earlier (Ms. dated 1699) written a *Verhandeling over de Klankkunde* in connection with a study of versification.

Pieter Langendijk (1683-1756), the ingenious and fruitful composer of several comedies which often approach the borderline of farce, came from a Mennonite family although he did not actually join the brotherhood until his deathbed. His best known works are those in which he portrays and criticises the weaknesses of rich, speculating, self-satisfied merchants and their relatives in a satirical and comic style. They are *Het wederzijdsche huwelijksbedrog* (1712), *De Zwetser* (1712), *Krelis Louwen* (1715), *De Wiskunstenaars* (1715), *De Spiegel der vaderlandsche Kooplieden* (1756). From 1722 to his death he lived in Haarlem.

Another literary figure of the eighteenth century was Christina Lenora de Neufville (1713-1781) who composed moralistic-theological observations in metrical form. The two brothers Cornelis and Petrus Loosjes (1723-92 and 1735-1813), both pastors of Mennonite churches, with final pastorates in Haarlem, founded in the year 1761 the rationalistic periodical known as *De Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (suspended publication December 1876), and with this periodical the names of other Mennonites are also connected such as Jeronimo de Vries Sr. (1776-1853), who was a literary historian and critic, and also a member of the "Algem. Doopsgez. Societeit" and a director of the Seminary in Amsterdam, and the bookseller Jacob Wybrand Yntema (1779-1858), likewise in Amsterdam, who was for a time publisher and editor of the periodical. Adriaan Loosjes (1761-1818), son of the above-named Petrus Loosjes, who was active as a bookseller and publisher in Haarlem after the completion of his theological studies, a friend of the Enlightenment and a poet of moderate ability, is known as the author of an historical novel, *Maurits Lijnslager* (1808), which was widely read both then and later, and which like his earlier work, *De Historie van Mejuffrouw Suzanna Bronkhorst,* reveals the influence of the novels of Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker. The latter writer, who was a much more gifted, clever and productive authoress (1738-1804), preferred to attend the churches of the Mennonites with her Mennonite friend and co-worker Agatha (Aagje) Deken (1741-1804), although she had been reared in the orphanage of the Collegiants in Amsterdam and was later of the Reformed faith and widow of a pastor of this church. Aagje Deken, a faithful

Mennonite, composed several hymns for the Haarlem Mennonite Church. After 1777 the two women lived together for a time in De Rijp and Beverwijk, then several years in France, and finally in The Hague.

Among the other writers who might be mentioned are: Simon Stijl (1731-1804), physician in Harlingen, who is noted for the clear and powerful prose style of his historical work, *De opkomst en bloei der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (1774), and who treats of the state of the dramatic art and the literature of the stage of his time in his biography of an actor, *Leven van Jan Punt* (1781). Because of his distaste for all churchly connections and his urge toward unconditional independence, he never joined a church, although he belonged to a family of Mennonites. Further there is the Amsterdam merchant and historian Jan Wagenaar (1709-73), the Harlingen Pastor Johannes Stinstra (1708-90), who was deposed from his office for many years because of his Socinian views, and who devoted himself to the translation of Richardson's novels. A number of other well-known Mennonites had connections with the literature of the time either as scientific linguists or as critics, such as the philologist Matthys Siegenbeek (1774-1854), pastor in Dokkum where he brought about the union of Mennonites and Remonstrants, after 1797 professor of the Dutch language and literature at the University of Leiden. Siegenbeek also had a Mennonite as his successor in the chair, Prof. Dr. Matthias de Vries (1820-92). The two above-named scholars were the creators of a new orthography for the Dutch language. Other names which should be mentioned are: Anthony Winkler Prins (1817-1908), pastor in Tjalleberd and Veendam, a free-mason and widely known as the editor of a widely used encyclopedia, who was a co-worker of the Reformed pastor and poet, J. J. L. ten Kate, on the magazine *Braga*. This magazine published from 1842 to 1844, altogether in rhyme, a sharp and often satirical criticism of the contemporary romantic literature. Also to be named are: Dr. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, professor at the University and seminary in Amsterdam (1819-93), P. Leendertz Wzn. (1817-1880), pastor in Medemblik, and D. Harting, pastor in Enkhuizen.

In concluding the first part of this survey we must mention: Simon Gorter (1838-1871), friend of Professor de Hoop Scheffer, pastor in Aalsmeer and Wormerveer, journalist and author

of excellent literary essays (*Letterkundige Studien,* 1871) and novels; Christiaan Nicolaas Wybrands, pastor in Enschede, author of a history of the Amsterdam stage from 1617 to 1772 (1873), also of a book entitled *Tooneelstudien* (1889) and of a valuable and richly documented study entitled *Het Menniste Zusje,* (*Zondagsbode,* 1902-03, 1914, second edition); the latter's gifted brother Aemilius Willem Wybrands (1838-86), pastor at Edam, Hoorn, and Leiden and church historian, noted for his research in the ecclesiastical drama of the Middle Ages (1861); the Haarlem pastor and religious poet, Jeronimo de Vries, Jr. (1838); and finally the pastor and author Dr. Johannes Dyserinck (1835-1912), who published numerous articles and several books dealing primarily with Dutch writers and artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Wolff and Deken, Bellamy, Beets, Bosboom-Toussaint, A. Pierson, A. Winkler Prins, etc.).

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Allusions to the Mennonites and related groups are numerous in the older Dutch literature. They are quite naturally found for the most part in authors of other faith, and insofar as they were written at the time of the beginnings and first progress of the Anabaptist movement are filled with a great earnestness and seriousness. Among the writers of this type we must mention first of all Dirck Vzn. Coornhert (1522-90), the writer and poet, philosopher and theologian, the socratic-platonic Christian who, although he belonged to the Catholic church, sought quite independently his own way to the highest truth, and who was the courageous defender of absolute freedom of conscience, whom Prof. Kühler calls "the friend and at the same time the enemy of the Anabaptists" and to whom he attaches the title of "the Dutch Sebastian Franck" (*Geschiedenis der Nederl. Doopsgez. i.d. zestiende eeuw,* p. 359). In addition to his theological and polemic writings dealing with the new teachings, such as *Van de bejaerden Doope, Uytroedinghe van des Verderfs plantinghe* (dedicated to Hans de Ries), *Van de sendingh der Lutheranen, Swinglianen en Mennonieten* (1583), *Opperste Goedts nasporinghe,* in which he has de Ries appear in a conversation, and his *Kleijn-Munster* (1590), written against David Joris, we also have an altogether different type of writing, a satirical dialogue ("samenspraak") entitled *Aertzney der sielen* (1570), in which in addition to the pope, Luther and Calvin, Menno Simons, "de duy-

sterlingh," is also subjected to bitter mockery. His friend, the faithful Catholic HENDRICK L.ZN. SPIEGHEL (1549-1612), mentions Jan van Leiden and Melchior Hofman in his *Kerktwistsjaarlied* of 1601. CAREL VAN MANDER portrays with deep sympathy the industry, the strict and quiet manner of life, the peacefulness and piety of the Anabaptists, in his *Olijf-Bergh*. VONDEL'S verses attached to the pictures of Mennonite preachers have already been mentioned. The very meritorious poet JAN JANSZN. STARTER (1594-1626), whose parents belonged to the Brownists who had fled from England and who joined the Waterlander Mennonite church in Amsterdam in 1615, wrote among other lyrical and comic poems (*Friesche Lusthof*, 1621) the well known and fetching parody entitled *Menniste Vrijagie* (courtship) which however, as PROF. DR. A. E. H. SWAEN (Amsterdam) has shown, is an almost literal translation of an English parody on the prudishness of the young puritan woman (*Tijdschr. Mij. v. Ned. Letterk., nr.* 16). JAN ZOET (1614-74), the rhyming inn-keeper, Collegiant, pietist, chiliast and later Labadist and polygamist, is more pungent and uncouth in his digs at the Old Friesian Mennonites whose painful exactitude in clothing he attempted to ridicule (perhaps confusing the clothing of the Mennonites with that of the Quakers). In his satire *Het groöte Vischnet* the Mennonites as well as all the other ecclesiastical bodies of the time ("zoo quaad te grijpen als een aal") were subjected to attack.

The highly talented lyric poet GERBRAND ADR. ZN. BREDERO (1585-1618) refers to the riot of the Anabaptists in Amsterdam in the year 1535 in his notable drama *Het Moortje* (1616), which is characterized by vivid action, ingenious portraiture, and a free use of the vernacular with a rich spicing of all sorts of humorous expressions. The same drama also refers to the supposed weakness of Mennonites for rich food and drink. One of the characters, a young man, mentions among other fine food "een benistekoeck" (Mennonite cake) and at another place a drunken fellow tells of a drinking bout in which he emptied glass after glass of a "beniste boortje," that is (according to Prof. Dr. F. A. Stoett, Amsterdam) glasses filled to the brim. These two expressions as well as similar ones are also found in several farces of the same period such as those by Pers, Breughel, Fokkens. Other farcical pieces mention "Mennisten streken, treken" and "knepen" (tricks and dodges) and

"schijnheiligheid" (sanctimoniousness), while Quakers and Labadists suffer the same contumely (Noseman, H. v. Halmael, P. de la Croix). The collected writings of JEROENSE (1684), C. TUINMAN (1726), and P. J. HARREBOMEE (1858), contain expressions, phrases, ironical verses and the like, which attempt to paint pictures of Mennonites in the same unpleasant colors. However out of the midst of this gay company of authors, for the most part without gifts and often without name, the brilliant THOMAS ASSELIJN (1620-1701) with his well known trilogy, *Jan Klaaz of De gewaande Dienstmaagd* (1682), *'t Kraambedt of Kandeelmaal van Saartje Jansz* (1684) and *De Echtscheiding van Jan Klaaz en Saartje Jansz* (1685) stands out. The presentation of the first drama with its bubbling humor, its powerful realism, and its living local color, brought a tremendous success. Great agitation however was occasioned among the public by the abundance of references to Mennonites of various groups, to Collegiants, Socinians, and Quakers, to occurrences in their eventful history and to all kinds of peculiarities in their faith, their clothing, their manner of life, their speech, and their style of speaking. It was particularly the easily understood digs at particular noted persons, families, and business concerns which stirred up trouble. The persons attacked were highly indignant and agitated until the magistrate was drawn into the matter and forbade further presentation of the play. The outcome was a bitter battle of pamphleteers. The second and third plays in the trilogy of Asselijn also contained a multitude of evident allusions to Mennonite and related themes.

None of the comedies of PIETER LANGENDIJK, who was mentioned above, treats of the Mennonites in this fashion, but a poem of his does do so. It bears the title, "Zwitsersche eenvoudigheid, klaagende over de bedorven zeden veeler Doopsgezinden of Weerlooze Christenen," and deals with simple Swiss Mennonite farmers who emigrated from their homeland to the Netherlands in the year 1711 because of persecution of their Mennonite faith. The Swiss Mennonites are represented as being highly astonished at the great luxury of the time which they found among the rich Mennonite merchants of Amsterdam where they spent a few weeks, particularly the luxury which they observed in the stately "Grachtenhäusern" (villas on the canals).

Similar comments on the same theme, although in a quieter and more sensible tone, are to be found by JUSTUS VAN EFFEN (1731-35) in the *Hollandsche Spectator,* a weekly journal treating of various subjects which was patterned after the English *Spectator,* also in the later *Nederlandsche Spectator* (which had Mennonites among its contributors), as well as in other similar periodicals. Of course not all the accusations and condemnations found in the above mentioned works are to be taken at face value, although not everything dare be assumed to be fiction. All types of life, certainly of churchly and sectarian life, develop ridiculous and obnoxious perversions. However the various groups were often confused with one another, much to the disadvantage of the better types. Furthermore it dare not be forgotten that it was easy for those who were critical to mock and condemn the Mennonites who had always manifested a somewhat singular behaviour in society because of their semi-isolation, particularly as they gradually came to greater and greater prosperity in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and gradually at the same time surrendered much of their traditional Mennonite simplicity. But the more the Mennonites mingled with the rest of the population, and the more they secured the same legal privileges and rights, the more they dropped out of the eye of the outside world—and the more they lost their attractiveness for literary writers, at least as an object for criticism and satire. In the letters and novels of ELISABETH WOLFF and AAGJE DEKEN, particularly in *Willem Leevend* and *Cornelia Wildschut,* which reflect the spirit of a later age, the Mennonites are treated in quite a different fashion. Pleasant jokes and fun is made at their expense, or their human weaknesses and shortcomings are held up in an objective and kindly, often comical, frankness, but at the same time praise and recognition is given for their good qualities. And soon after the death of these two authors who were so well-meaning toward the Mennonites, the Mennonites disappear out of Dutch literature as an easy prey for the critics.

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A LETTER OF JOHN H. OBERHOLTZER TO FRIENDS IN GERMANY, 1849*

Nieder Milford Taunschip Bucks Caunty Staat Pennsylvanien
Februar den 7 ten 1849

Vielgeliebte Brüder und Glaubensgenossen in dem Herrn Jesu.

Ich will mich jetzt unterwinden um meine Gedanken so gut mir Gott Kraft und Beystand schenkt an meine Europäische Mitbrüder mitzutheilen. Es ist zwar, in gewisser Hinsicht, ein etwas schwieriges Vornehmen von mir, dieweil ich so wenig von unsern Lieben Glaubensgenossen der Mennonitten Gemeinschaft, und ihren Verhältnissen in Europa weis, aber dennoch dringt mich das Gefühl der Bruderliebe alle etwaige Schwierigkeiten zu übersteigen, und mit der Feder einen Versuch zu machen um etwas von euch zu hören oder zu erfahren.

Vorerst sey euch mein Herzenswunsch kund, welcher darin besteht, nähmlich: dass wir gemeinschaftliche Antheil haben mögen an der grossen Gnade Gottes, geoffenbahrt in der Menschwerdung des Sohnes-Gottes. Ich könte freylich manche irdische Glück-wünsche an euch thun vor allem andern, aber das ist einmal nicht meine Absicht, dann der grosse Welt Erlöser hat gesagt "Trachtet am ersten nach dem Reich Gottes und nach seiner Gerechtigkeit, so wird euch alles zufallen." Diese wenig Worte unsers hochgelobten Meisters sind so vielsagend dass man Bücher über deren Inhalt schreiben könte dann wann der Mensch einmal mit Ernst nach dem Reiche Gottes trachtet dann fällt durch solches darnach zutrachten schon alles ungerechte auf seiten des Menschen hinweg. In solchem Trachten nach dem Reiche Gottes kann auch die allgemeine Busse verstanden werden. Versteht sich von sich selbst dass der Herr nicht wohnen kann in einer Seele "der Sünde" oder dem sünden Dienst unterworfen, dann der Teufel hat sein werk in den Kindern des Unglaubens. Ein Mensch wird wohl ohne Glauben nichts zu wegen bringen woran Gott Freude haben kann, dann das Tichten und Trachten ist allezeit Bös bis zur Sinnes-Anderung welche sich in der Wiedergeburt offenbart. Diese unbegreifliche Veränderung kann

* Dr. Harold S. Bender of Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, purchased the letter from Mr. Emil Würz, a Mennonite of the village of Biedesheim, Rhenish Palatinate, South Germany, in July, 1936. The letter gives no indication of the addressee. It was at one time in the possession of the Schmidt-Weber family of Worms a. Rhein and is a family heirloom. It must therefore have been addressed to one of the ancestors of the present family with whom Oberholtzer had become acquainted through a third party. The manuscript consists of four sheets of foolscap paper, written on both sides. The sheets measure roughly 7½ by 12½ inches. The letter is written in a beautiful hand in German script and is very well preserved. It is now the property of the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College.

Oberholtzer naturally puts himself in the best possible light but unfortunately thereby gives a partisan account of the schism in which he was the leading figure. His sharp criticism of the Mennonite ministry prior to 1847, though no doubt containing some truth, is certainly unsympathetic, if not definitely biased. The letter, however, is quite interesting and is of historical value, having been written only a year and four months after the final break in the Franconia Conference. For a good account of the circumstances of the Oberholtzer schism see the recently published *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* by John C. Wenger, Telford, Pennsylvania, 1937, pp. 352-359.

ohne Glauben nicht geschehen, deswegen ist es unmöglich Gott zu gefallen ohne Glauben. Sobald der Mensch einmal dem Buchstaben aufrichtig Gehör gibt, und fleissig die innere Überzeugungen welche durch dass ewige Wort in der Seele gewirkt werden, oder welche durch dass geschriebene Wort und Kraft des H. Geistes hervor gerufen werden, acht hat, und lässt sich willig durch solche Triebe leiten, so wird der Satan bald fliehen müssen und der Einzug beydes, Vaters und Sohnes, wird also geschehen und werden bey einem solchen Menschen Wohnung machen, wird dann ihr Gott und Vater seyn und er wird sein Sohn (oder Tochter) seyn, und wird solche nach seinem Willen leiten. Für solche wird dann die Gerechtigkeit Christi gelten, indem der Glaube an seine Genugtuung womit Er die beleidigten Gerechtigkeit des ewigen Vaters ein Genüge gethan hat zur Versöhnung womit gleichsam Gott durch das theure Verdienst Christi uns mit sich selbst nach seiner Erbarmenden Liebe versöhnt hat. Der Welt-Gebäude ist einmal ein sehr grosses Haus, und durch dessen weisen Baumeister (Gott) in viele Gemächer eingetheilt, und euch ist Europa als Wohnort angewiesen, von Alters her, und uns ist Amerika zugetheilt um darin zu wirken. Obwohl wir wohl durch den mächtigen Ozean getrennt sind, so bleibt dennoch wahr was der Apostel sagt dass die Sünde zu allen hindurch gedrungen sey welche ist das abscheuliche Schuld-Übel wo uns unflätig in den Augen-Gottes macht, doch hat Gott durch seine unbegreifliche Liebe womit er uns geliebet hat einen Weg der Mittel gegeben auf welchem, oder wodurch wir ihm wieder gefallen mögen wenn wir selbiges nicht verachten o'er durch Unglauben von uns stossen wovon oben schon gesagt. Liebe Brü'er, ich achte es nöthig und sehr erbaulich dass wenn wir einander erinnern würden durch Briefe wie gleichsam die Apostel gethan haben, zur gegenseitigen Stärkung im Band der Bruderliebe so wie auch in Bekräftigung unsers allertheuersten Glaubens, welches noth thut sintemal sich der Tag der allgemeinen Vergeltung immer mehr nahet.

Es kann meines erachtens nicht anders, als euch angenehm seyn von uns zu hören, gerade so wie auch uns, von euch zu hören, deswegen will ich es wagen euch etwas Nachricht ertheilen wie es einigermassen bey uns steht und geht. Leid hats mir schon oft gethan dass wir so wenig von euch wissen oder auch, Ihr von uns und alle ordinären Mittel stehen uns ja doch zu Gebot wenn wir sie nur ergreifen und benutzen. Einmal da ist Papier, Feder, und Tinten, so wie auch wieder die schöne Kunst nehmlich Schreiben und dann wieder das Postwesen zu Wasser und zu Land, so dass wir unsere Gedanken einander mittheilen können oder gleichsam wie Nachbarn miteinander reden können. Jetzt will ich dann mit der grössten Gewissenhaftigkeit euch etwas von uns erzählen, doch ich schrecke beynah zurück wenn ich überlege wie es noch bey uns ist gegen was es seyn sollte aber wir sind jetzt mehr am ordnen als je zuvor vieleicht gethan wurde in diesem Land.

1stens. Will ich suchen einige Bemerkungen zu machen so viel ich aus der Mennonitischen Sache schliessen kann von ihrem Ursprung in Amerika. Zuerst als die Väter von Europa hieher gelangten, fanden sie ein Land, bewohnt von Wilden (Indianern) welche die Europäer und andere als Feinde ansahen, und deswegen sie vielfältig mit ihrem Tomehaak (Streitaxt) und Scalpier-Messer verfolgten, plünderten und umbrachten. Hieraus lässt sich schon schliessen dass die ersten Ansiedler unsers Volks sich nicht ordnen haben können wie sie (ganz natürlich) gewünscht hätten. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach haben sie sich geordnet so gut dass es sich

unter ihrem damaligen dürftigen und vielangefochtenen Verhältnissen thun lies, doch aber in der grössten Unvollkommenheit. Als ihre Nachkommen die Sache unserer Gemeinschaft fortführen sollten, und wie es natürlich war dass Gelehrsamkeit unter ihren Umständen schon zu einem ziemlichen Grade versunken war, weil Schulen und Lehranstalten zur damaligen Zeit und Verhältnissen noch nicht gehörig eingerichtet werden konten um ihrer Dürftigkeit wegen, so beriefen die Jüngere sich schon viel auf die Wege ihrer Väter und hatten aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach nicht die Verbesserung ihres Gemeinwesens im Augenmerk wie es hätte seyn sollen, und endlich blieben viele unsers Volks zu viel an Scheindingen hängen wie schon an den Galatern und andere in früher Zeit des Christenthums sich zeigte.

Später, als Gelehrsamkeit wieder mehr zum Vorschein kam, und von zeit zu zeit Männer an den Dienst kamen mit mehr Gelehrsamkeit, welche suchten unsere Sache wieder zu verbessern, so hatten solche allezeit haftig mit der Unwissenheit zu kämpfen, und nicht selten sich in Trennungen endeten. Hieraus lässt sich also schliessen dass die Bekenner von Mennos Lehre sich in viele Klassen abtheilen. Viele Abkömmlinge unsers Volks gingen zu andere Religions-Benennungen über, andere stehen so ohne sich zu irgend etwas zu bekennen, leben und sterben also, und diejenigen welche dann wirklich zu unserer Glaubens-Verfassung sich zählen lassen, haben dennoch viele ihre ganz eigene Meynung von Lehre und Ordnung unserer Gemeinschaft. Es thut mir wahrhaftig leid ein solch Bekenntniss von unserm Volk in Amerika nähmlich dass Mennonittische, abzulegen. Allein erlaubt mir euch zu erzählen auf *was* die Masse unserer Prediger zum Theil blickt um den wahren Mennonitten zu erkennen, das ist der "Rock." Wenn der das rechte Muster hat, dann ist nach vielen ihrer Meynung nach, alles recht. Leider haben aber viele es zu viel gemacht. Ezekiel 44, 6. Dass derer Herzen offenbar worden sind, welche mit Lug und Trug angefüllt sind und bald so zu sagen aller Ungerechtigkeit, dass bey vielen redlichen Gemüther gar nicht mehr nach dem Muster der Kleider gesehen wird, es sey dann übertrieben. Ihr fragt vielleicht warum dass dann solches alles gedultet wird so lasst mich antworten, dass eine grosse Zahl der Dienerschaft selbst in eine Tiefe Stufe der Unwissenheit versunken sind und deswegen manche Übel bey denselben Vorsteherstand geworden sind, mit einem Wort, ihr könnt hieraus hinlänglich schliessen dass die Mennonittische Gemeinschaft gar nicht in Amerika ist was sie seyn sollte und in einer völligen Zersplitterung da stehet. Es ist wahr, es sind noch einige Gemeinden hin und wieder allwo die Sache noch etwas besser gehandhabt wird, welches aber nur von der Fähigkeit ihrer einzelnen Diener abhängt. Wann ich alle Einzelnheiten euch erzählte würde ich dass tiefste Gefühl des Mitleids bey euch erwecken. Daher will ich für diesmal nicht mehr von der allgemeinen Verdorbenheit erzählen sondern will euch jetzt von unserer *Reformation* erzählen.

Man kann oft nicht begreifen wie wundervoll Gott oft eine Sache leitet um endlich mit derselben hervor zu brechen. Es gibt oft Sachen welche, wenn sie zuerst erscheinen, ganz verkehrt zu seyn scheinen und endlich siehet der denkende Mensch ganz klar was Gott damit will, und was Gott absolut will, kann auch niemand hindern. Die Reinheit der Lehre muss doch immer wieder hervor brechen. Sie kann eine Weile verdunkelt werden, aber nie gedämpft und unterdrückt, sonst wäre die reine Lehre des Evangeliums schon lang verdrängt und vernichtet. "Gott kann schaffen was er will" ihm zu lob.

Ich Armer, wurde nach der alten Gewohnheit durch Loos erwählt in meinem 34ten Jahr. Das Loos wurde und wird noch zum Theil so gehandhabt nehmlich. Wenn ein Diener Nöthig ist in einer Gemeinde dann werden gestimmt. Der eine stimmt diesen, der andere jenen, nähmlich Brüder in der Gemeinde, und so werden manchmal viele gestimmt oder angegeben. Als ich gewählt wurde waren 15 im Loos. Manchmal sind mehr manchmal weniger. Dann wird das Loos in ein Buch gethan und aber in die andere Bücher wird natürlicherweis keins gethan. Dann nimmt ein jeder der gestimmten ein Buch. Wen es dann trift dem wird dann der Dienst anbefohlen und wann er noch so unfähig ist. Siehe 2 Tim. Cap. 2, v. 2. Ich suchte dann mein Amt redlich auszurichten, strafte ohne Ansehen der Person die Ungerechtigkeit nach meiner besten Gabe, aber auch bald, (obgleich ich grossen Beyfall hatte im Anfang) zeigte sich der Antichrist in der schandlichsten Gestalt um mich wieder aus dem Weg zu Räumen. Um dieses zu bezwecken nähmlich mich aus dem Weg zu räumen, lasst mich erzählen, dass: als ich ein Glied in der Men. Gemeinde wurde, einen "Rock" trug so wie es ganz im allgemeinen bey unserm Volk im Gebrauch war. Aber derselbe war nicht grade wie die Vorgesetzten Röck trugen. Bald wurde mir angezeigt dass wenn ich mir nicht so oder so ein Rock verschaffen würde, dann würde es zur Folge haben dass ich abgesetzt würde. Das Muster von meinem Rock war derselbe wie ich denselben von Kindheit an getragen, oder von Jugend auf getragen hatte. Ich bat um Gedult und sagte ich wollte mir einen andern Rock verschaffen nähmlich ein ander Muster sobald ich es erkennen konte als meine Pflicht; aber ehe ich es erkennen konte wurde bey dem Consilio beschlossen dass ich und noch andere meiner Mitdiener kein rathgebendes Recht mehr hätten bis wir uns Röck von einem andern Muster verschaffen würden; also ein Rockgesetz wurde bey uns gemacht, und sobald das gethan war legte ich mich feyerlich dagegen auf und erklärte als Menschen-gebot, und streitend gegen die Lehre des Evangeliums so wie auch der Apostel. Siehe Evan. Matth. 15, Röm. 16, vers 17, Col. 3. Hieraus könnt ihr schon denken dass es mehr oder weniger Unruhe gegeben hat. Dann wurde (dieweil das erste Gesetz nicht allgemein anerkannt wurde nähmlich vom Volk) eine zweyte Verordnung vestgestellt nähmlich: dass alle Glieder der Gem. suspendirt wären vom Abendmahl wenn sie nicht mir den Rücken kehren wollten, nicht mir allein sondern allen im Dienst welche meines Sinnes wären. Die Folgen von dieser Verordnung könnt ihr euch leicht denken ohne dass ich sie euch beschreibe, doch so viel dass dieses eine etwaige Trennung herbey rief.

Wir haben uns jetzt gehörig geordnet, indem wir eine veste und geschriebene Regel und Ordnung wie unsere Gemeinschaft geregiert werden soll. Die Mennonitten hatten in diesem Land nie eine geschriebene Regel wie die Gem. gehandhabt werden sollte. Alles wird jetzt aufgeschrieben was von dem Consilio oder Prediger Zusammenkunft beschlossen wird; alles dieses wurde vor dieser Zeit ermangelt und gab stets Anlass zu Missverständnissen und Unruhen, und hat immer nur zusammengebrochen und nicht erbaut wie ihr vieleicht denken könnt. Aber merket: nur wir haben die Sache jetzt so geordnet. Wir haben unsere eigene Zusammenkunft bestehend aus 12 Prediger mit ihren Almosenpfleger. Die Verbesserung wirkt wie ein Laufeuer in einem dürren Wald.

Jetzt will ich euch erzählen wie es früher gethan wurde wenn Glieder in die Gemeinde aufgenommen worden sind. Wenn jemand Anspruch

machte um Glied zu werden, dann wurde es in der Gemeinde bekannt gemacht und gesagt. Wenn noch mehrere wären dann sollten sie sich melden. Dann sind solche ein oder zwey mal zusammen gekommen. Wurden dann ermahnt. Dann wurden sie bedient mit der Taufe, aber man hat sie, nähmlich die Tauflinge, nicht untersucht ob sie auch richtige Begriffe hätten von der Heils-Ordnung. Darnach hat man nicht gefragt. So war es, so weit mir bekannt war. Aber unter der jetzigen Verbesserung haben wir Kinderlehre eingeführt für Gross und Klein und wenn selbige in den Taufunterricht gehen, wird noch einmal mit ihnen durchgegangen alles was hauptsächlich mit Busse und Glauben in Verbindung steht. Dann unsere jetzige vestgestellte Ordnung fordert, dass keine zu Glieder aufgenommen werden sollen, es sey dann dass man Ursach zu glauben habe, dass solche auch aufrichtig gesonnen sind die Gemeinde zu zieren mit einem Tugendsamen Leben und Wandel. Wir haben jetzt ein klein Fragenbuch oder Katechismus, zuerst herausgegeben worden zu Elbing in Preussen im Jahr 1783 dann wieder in Hessen und Waldeckischen in 1797, dann wieder in Ober Canada in 1824. Von dort bekam ich ein Exemplar und lies es drucken in 1844. Jetzt liesen wir denselben wieder drucken in Skippach, Montgomery County, Pennsylvanien, allwo wir jetzt unsere jetztangenommene Ordnung beygefügt haben als Lehrbuch zum Glaubens-Unterricht für unsere Jugend. Vielleicht kann ich euch einmal ein Exemplar schicken wenn wir einmal einander näher bekannt werden. Unsere Predigerwahl haben wir auf diese Weise eingerichtet; nähmlich, entweder durch eine Wahl in der Gemeinde, oder im Loos von zwey der fähigsten Personen, oder auch unmittelbar durch innere Antrieb. Wir haben schon einige von den geschicktesten Redner bekommen (Gott sey Dank) wo es früher, ich denk ich darf sagen aus 5 mal, 4 mal fehlten. O, meine liebe Brüder, mein Herz ist getrost wenn ich manchmal über die frohen Aussichten nachdenke. Ich hoffe die Zeit ist nicht mehr fern dass wir und ihr uns baldigst von Angesicht zu Angesicht begrüssen mögen durch bessere Einrichtungen und einstweilig Besuche. Keinn grössere Freude könnte mir zu Theil werden als diese: wenn ich einmal Europa sehen könte, und mich mit euch über das Heil so vieler unsterblichen Seelen zu berathen. Wer weis was noch geschehen kann.

Ihr werdet kaum wissen was ihr mit diesem Brief machen sollt, weil derselbe vermuthlich ganz unverhofft zu euch kommt. Ich gebe aber euch zum Schluss abermal die Versicherung meiner Redlichkeit, obgleich wir noch so ganz fremd, und einander so ganz unbekannt sind. Ich habe zwey Briefe gelesen von Bruder "Von der Smissen", ich glaube von Dännemark, welche an Bruder Benjamin Eby von Ober Canada geschrieben waren. Freylich ich habe jene Briefe nicht im Original gelesen. Sie waren so vortrefflichen Inhalts dass Bruder Eby selbe im Druck erschienen lies, welches mir sie zu Hand brachte. Dieses ist jetzt schon ohngefähr 4 Jahre und während jener Zeit konte ich nicht ruhig fühlen . Immer war der Drang in mir rege, ich sollte doch mal an die liebe Brüder in Europa schreiben. Ich erkundigte mich wo etwa Gemeinden in Europa wären . Dann bekam ich Nachricht von mehreren Gemeinden sammt deren Nahmen worunter sie genannt werden, so wie auch die Nahmen ihrer Diener oder Prediger. Dann meine Absicht ist noch mehr zu schreiben nähmlich nachdem ich wieder Antwort von euch bekommen habe, was ich mit dem innersten Gefühl meiner Seele wünsche. Schreibt mir von den Religions-Verhältnissen überhaupt aber

besonders diese, unserer Mennonitten Gemeinschaft. Wie grossen Gemeinden es hat? Wo sie sind? Zu welchen Königreich . So dass ich Briefe richtig an sie addressieren kann? Schreibt ebenfalls von den Staats-Angelegenheiten, dann wir hören oft von Unruhen bey euch in der politischen Staats-Welt, so dass wir schon oft geglaubt haben dass schwere Revolutionen über Europa schwebten . Schreibt mir von eurer Ordnung in eurer Gemeinde, dass ist, wie ihr Diener wählt, vom Muster der Kleider, nähmlich : ob unsere Glieder in der Gemeinschaft an besondere Muster gebunden sind, von der Kinderlehre, ob ihr sie habt oder nicht, dann unsere Gegener hier haben sich schon so ausgedrückt : dass sie ihre Kinder lieber sehen wollen wenn sie fischen gehen wollen oder ins Wirts-Haus auf den Sabbath als in der Kinderlehre. Diejenige aus unserer Gemeinschaft welche so viel am Aussern haben erklären sich als Erzfeinde gegen jede Verbesserung wodurch der Sünder erweckt werden möge, dass thut uns sehr Leid und wünschen daher von euch zu hören von eurer Ordnung und Gebräuchen, u.s.w. wie oben gesagt.

Diesen Brief könnt ihr zu lesen geben wenn ihr wollt. Es ist nicht meine Absicht oder Wunsch dass dieser Brief in den Gemeinden bey euch vorgelesen werden soll. Doch könnt ihr thun wie ihr am besten denkt. Ich will euch ein wenig sagen wie unsere Kinderlehre gehalten wird. Es gehen erwachsene so wie auch Kleine Kinder, lauter solche welche lesen können. Wir haben an den mehrsten Plätzen alle zwey Wochen Versammlung. Die Kinderlehre ist nur durch die Sommers-Zeit allemal nachmittags wenn vormittags Gottes-Dienst war. Wenn die Kinder zusammen gekommen sind (es sind in etlichen Gemeinden 60-70 und noch mehr Kinder im Unterricht) dann werden sie im Gesang geübt eine halbe Stunde oder drey viertel. Dann wird ein Gebät von einem Prediger verrichtet. Dann sagen die Kinder was sie auswendig gelernt haben durch die vergangenen zwey Wochen. Sie sind in Klassen eingetheilt. Viele kleine Kinder haben schon den ganzen Katechismus im Gedächtniss, andere lernen wieder aus der Bibel so dass sie dieselbe bekannt werden. Andere Bücher werden keine gebraucht zur Kinderlehre als nur die Bibel und das kleine Fragenbuch. Es nehmen ältere Glieder der Gemeinde theil, dann dass ganze werk wäre zu schwer fuer den Prediger allein, weil der Prediger allemal am Schluss noch eine Erklärung geben muss über das was sie gelernt haben, dann werden noch einige Lieder gesungen, und ein Schluss-Gebät gethan, dann ist die Kinderlehre aus. Wir haben schon wahr genommen dass die Sache reichlich gesegnet ist.

Ich weis kaum wo ich enden soll mit meiner Feder. Doch ich will schliessen mit dem Wunsch dass der Allmächtige und Allwissende Gott, welcher alle unsere Gedanken von ferne weis seinen Segen auf diese Paar Zeilen legen möge, dass dieselben an ihrem Bestimmungs Ort ankommen mögen und solche Brüder finden welche es sich angelegen seyn lassen wollen uns mit einer Antwort zu begünstigen.

Zum Schluss Ebräer 13, v. 18. Betet für uns. Unser Trost ist der dass wir ein gut Gewissen haben und fleissigen uns guten Wandel zu führen bey allem. — Vielleicht komm ich einmal —. 20 Gott aber des Friedens der von den Toden aufgeführet den grossen Hirten der Schaafe durch das Blut des ewigen Testaments, unsere Herrn Jesum, der mach euch (und uns) fertig in allem guten Werke zu thun seinen Willen, und schaffe in euch

(und uns) was vor ihm gefällig ist durch Jesum Christum; welchem sey Ehre von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit Amen.

Geschrieben in Nieder Milford Taunschip Bucks Caunty Staat Pennsylvanien von einem euch unbekannten aber dennoch aufrichtigen Freund und Bruder in Christo.

Johann H. Oberholtzer

Verzeihet die Schreibfehler.
Wann ihr schreibt dann macht die Aufschrift auf dem Brief

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AN AMISH CHURCH DISCIPLINE OF 1779

Harold S. Bender

Under the title, "An Amish Church Discipline of 1781," the REVIEW published in April, 1930 (Volume IV, No. 2, pp. 140-148) a letter by Johannes Nafziger, an Amish Mennonite Bishop of the Palatinate, South Germany, to his fellow Amish ministers in Holland, dated March 26, 1781. Recently another manuscript copy of this letter has come to light. Curiously this manuscript adds an appendix containing another letter by Johannes Nafziger dated March 30, 1781, and concludes with the Amish discipline of 1779 adopted at Essingen near Landau, Palatinate, Jan. 21, 1779. This document is particularly valuable for the long list of signers attached, for it includes apparently all the Amish Mennonite ministers of 1779, listed by congregations. The entire document is presented here in its original form. No attempt has been made to change the orthography, paragraphing, punctuation or grammar. For information concerning Johannes Nafziger see the series of articles by Dr. Ernst Correll in the REVIEW for January, April, and July, 1928 (Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3) entitled "The Value of Family History for Mennonite History; with illustrations from Nafziger Family Material." The third article gives a brief biography of Nafziger.

DOCUMENT

Geliebte in dem Herren, von unserem Alt Vatter Hans Güngerich in der Weisenburger Gemeinde der seinen Dienst in seinen Jungen Tagen und Ledigen Stand bekomen und über 50 Jahr der Gemeind gedienet hat, und bey 90 Jahr Alt worden ist, Hanss von Rothen hoff in der Landauer gemeind, der so lang der Gemeind gedienet und zu einem hohen alter komen ist, Christe Yoder von richert oder Rosenthal in der Münster gemeinde der zu meiner zeit der Gemeinde gedient und über 70 Jahr alt worden ist haben solche Ordnung so viel wir wüsen im gebrauch gehabt und uns darauf gewiesen, und ich in meiner zeit gas nach beÿ 50 Jahr in grosser Schwachheit und unwürdig am Evangelium, gedient und jetzt über 73 Jahr alt habe solche gebreuch und ordnung suchen zu unter halten durch des Herren hilf und Gnad, im schreiben und lesen habe biss her noch kein Spiegel gebraucht bey Tag oder nacht, dem Herren sey lob und Dank gesagt.

In der Kürtze noch ein Wenig zu melden von dem Abentmahl unsers Herren Jesu Christi. Das Abent mahl wird des Jahrs zwey mahl gehalten Nähmlich um osteren und im Michely Tag, Kurtz davor wird die ordnungs Gemeinde gehalden, und Math. 18 ten

und Ersten Cori 5 ten gelessen und das Volk auf des Herren Ordnung gewiesen etc. . . . 8 oder 14 Tag vor den Brodbrechen, soll Fast und Bettag gehalten werden auch die unrichtigkeiten aus gemacht etc. . . . . An dem Tag alss das abent mahl soll gehalten werden, nach dem abrath noch vor der Gemeinde, wird dem Volk die Vorbereitung Vor gehalten, wie auch Israel sich hat müssen bereithen, das kein unreiner oder unbeschnittener vom osterlämlein solte Esen, auch wie das Osterlämli hat müssen zu bereitet werden, Paulus sagt wer unwürdig davon Eset und Trinket der Iset oder Trinket ihm selber das gericht etc. . . . . Dann geben sich die Diener auch dar, und Bekennen das sie auch in Schwachheit Ihren oder Fehlen können, wann jemand Etwas wieder sie haben solle gedult tragen oder ihn in liebe ansprechen etc. . . . Dan wird um gefragt alle Brüder und Swestern so sich dan nichts vorhinderliches findet wird in der kürtze ein Anfänglÿ gemacht aber nur kurtz, wan dan der Elteste Diener den Gruss auss gerichtet und gebätten hat steht ein anderer Diener auf und führt ein Von den Altvätter biss Mosy sagte Einen Proffethen wird euch Gott auferwecken auss eueren Brüdern gleich wie mich etc. . . . Dan liset er Luc. 22 ten cap biss wan du dich der maleins bekehrest so stärk deine Brüder, und ein anderer lyset Ersten Corÿ 10 ten biss niemand suche sein eigenen Nutzen sondern den Nutzen des andere, dan steht der Eltest Diener auf wieder hold noch aus dem Alten Testament von der Ubertretung etc. . . . von gesatz . . . von der verheisung auf Christum, vom Profethen Esais am 7 ten 8 ten 11 ten und 64 Cabytel . . . ach das du den Himmel zureisest und herab kömest etc. . . . vom Eintrit Christi vom seiner Pillgerfahrt, von seiner Lehr und Jünger arwählen und aus senden von seinen wunderthaten etc. . . liset der Diener Erste Cory 11 ten so weit es vom abentmahl handlet . . . und Joha. 6 ten wahrlich wahrlich sag ich euch etc. . . under diesem lesen wird das Brod zu bereitet und der Wein Eingeschenkt, dan wird gelehrt wie das Brod der Leib Christi, und der Wein sein Blutt bedeutet, alle die von diesem Brod Esen sind ein Leib, etc. . . Wer unwürdig Iset und Trincket, der iset und Trinket ihm selbst das gericht etc. . . . wan dan gehört ist was vor Tisch und Tafel genosen sein sollen so spricht er unser Herr Jesus in der nacht da er verathen nahm er das Brod, danket und Brach etc. . . dan nimt der diener das Brod in sein Hand, und spricht unser Herr Jesus hat seinem Himmelischen Vatter danket wir wollen auch also thun und das mit einem antächigen gebät dan steht die Gemeinde auf und betten in der stille nach den gebett spricht der Diener. Ich hab im sin Ein anfang zu machen, von diesem Brod zu Essen in Hoffnung und Glauben das Christus der Herr ein Vollkommens apfer sey worden für die Sünd Adams auch in Hoffnung und Glauben das wir durch dies Offer Erkauft und Erlöst vom Fluch und Fall Adams, so wir seinem Wort folgen und gehorsam seind, auch in Hoffnung und Glauben das ihm vor diese seine grose Liebe Gnad und Bormherzigkeit, von uns und unsere nachkommen Ewiglich soll gedankt werden auch in Hoffnung und Glauben Er werde uns am Jüngsten Tag wiederum auf Erwecken

und für seine Kinder ansprechen, und mit ihm Führen in sein Ewiges Reich, und wer mit mir in solcher Hoffnung ist der kann auch komen und Essen von diesem Brod, zur Gedechtnus des Herren Bitterm Leiden und Sterben, wie gehört ist dann bricht er Ein bisen Brod in seine Hand und Iset, und giebt den Brüdern, der nach den Schwesteren, Einem Jeden in seine Hand zu Essen, darnach Nimt er den Trinckbecher mit dem Wein, in seine Hand und Bätten mit Einander, dan spricht er wieder obige Hoffnung und Dancksagung, und Macht dem Anfang zum Trincken, Dan giebt er denn Trinckbecher Einem anderen Diener zum Buch oder Einem bestätigten, und spricht du kannst den Anderen auch geben, die denksagung thut ein Eltister. Nach der Danksagung, wird im Evangelium Joh. 13 ten gelesen vom Fuss waschen und auch aufgelegt etc. . . und die Lehr zum Ende gemacht. . . Das Fuss Waschen vorgenommen der Diener Wäscht zu Erst einem anderen seine Füss darnach lässt er seine auch wäschen
Also hab ich in der Kurtze nach meiner Einfald und Schwachheit dieses geschriben, Traget gedult geschriben zu Esingen den 30 ten Martz ano 1781 Johannes Nafziger.

Abred der Diner und Eltisten aus vielen Landen und Orten in der Versamlung zu Esingen bey Landau den 21 ten Winder Monath im Jahre 1779

Zum 1 ten Was die Christliche Glaubens Ardickel anbelangen, wie unsere alt Vätter im Marterbuch oder Blutigen Schauplatz im Ersten buch die letzte Bekantnuss von 33 Ardickel, bekent und zugestanden seind, also halten wir die selbigen dem Wort Gottes und Christlichen Ordnung gemäss, und soll sich ein jedes befleisen die selbige zu betrachten und nach zu kommen,

2 ten Von der Menschwerdung Christi soll man bey der Heiligen Schrifft bleiben wie Paulus bezeigt, Ein Sohn Gottes nach dem Geist und ein Sohn David nach dem Fleisch, und wie Pettrus bekend ein Sohn des Lebendigen Gottes, und so viel müchlich ist das unnöthige Dispputiren verhüten und enthalten mit dem bescheid wie Pettrus uns mahnet rechen schaft unsers Glaubens zu geben, dem der Grund fordert der Hoffnung die in uns ist fügt dem Christen wohl,

3tens So sich ein Bruder oder Mehrere mit auf Redung oder mit auflehnung wieder die Diener und Eltisten unruh an zu richten auf lehnete, so sollen solche nach art des Evangeliums abgestrafft werden, und ihr verlaümden und hinterreden, von keinem Bruder oder Schwester angenomen werden sonder auf die ordnung gewissen werden, wen es aber ein wichtige Ursach währe solten sie es nach Christlicher liebe und Ordnung zu erst ihren Diener und Eltisten in ihren Gemeinde anzeigen, konnte es aber nicht zu Ruh und Frieden gebracht werden, kann es den Diener und Eltisten an ihrer nächsten gemeinde vorgebracht werden, solten sie aber auch nicht konnen einig werden, soll es jeder Parteÿ erlaubt sein, sich zu unser Glaubens gemeinde und daselbigen Diener, zu wanden, zu welcher sie ihr vertrauen haben, und dan zu beiden seiten gelassen stehn nach unbartheÿischer Erkandnuss sich zu unter geben

4 tens Wan ein Gemeinde absterben der diener, oder durch andere sachen Entblösst worden, das sie keine Diener mehr hätten sollen die Diener in der nächsten Gemeinde die selben Bedienen und besorgen, bis zur weideren auskunft auf das nit jemand möge verseumt werden.

5 tens Sollen die Eltisten die Gemeinden durchziehen, und alle mängel besehen und mit dem wort des Herren, suchen zu verbesseren, und die gemeinde allenthalben wan es sein kann mit Eltisten zu besetzen, mit ihnen sollen auch ziehen Jünge oder Neu Angesetzte Diener oder Eltisten, damit sie in der Haushaltung in der gemeinde des Herrn, möchten unter wissen werden.

6 tens Solten die Diener und Eltisten in Ihrem Dienst der ihnen vom Herrn und seiner Gemeinde anbefohlen ist, nicht in Hoffort oder Hochmuth sondern in der Niedrigkeit und Demuth mit Ernst und Grosser Sorgfalt getreulich bedienen nach art des Heiligen Evangeliums, und nichts neus oder ungewöhnliches einführen damit sie von der Einfalt in Christo nicht veruckt werden

7 tens Es soll kein Bruder sich im Kauffen bauen, oder sonst grossen Handirungen sich einlasen, oder Unnöthige wucher handel sich ergeben, ohne Rath, wisen und bewiligung der Brüder und Eltisten.

8 tens Wann ein Bruder, oder Schwester sich vor Ehlichen wolten, solte es mit vor wisen und bewÿligung der Diener geschehen, und wo es figlich ist auch ihren Elteren davon wüssen lasen, diese Ver Ehligung aber soll in dem Herren geschehen und nit der Weld.

9 tens Sollen die Meidung gebraucht werden, an allen den jenigen die die Wahrheit des Evangeliums, und die Bruderschaft verlassen das den Namen Gottes und der Bruderschafft kein Schaden möchte zu gefügth werden, derohalben begehren wir das man sich aller abgefallenen Entziehen soll, mit aller Mass und bescheitenheit nach grund der apostel.

10 tens Soll ein Bruder oder Schwester ein jedes das andern Empfangen mit dan Kuss des Herren, die aber nit aufgenohmen sind soll ein Bruder oder Schwester nicht mit dem Kuss des Herren Empfangen sondern er soll sagen der Herr Kome dir zu Hilf.

11 tens Begehren wir auch, das man der armen als auch Wÿdwen und Weisen Eingedenk sey, und Versorgt mögen werden, und ihm auferziehen der Weisslen kein unterscheit gemacht werden, sonderen in Massen nach Christlicher Art, und Vätterliche liebe möchten auferzogen werden damit ein jedes sich Vatterlicherfreü und Christlicher liebe erfreüen möge.

12 tens Alle Misbreuch als Taback Rauchen und Schnupfen und der gleichen sollen unterlassen werden.

13 tens Alle die Junge die den Bart mit dem Schermesser oder der gleichen abmachen, sollen gewahrnt und abgemanht werden so sie es nit unterlassen mit dem Bann, gestraffs werden, auch das Haubt Harr nach der Hoffort zu Schneiden soll nicht sein oder gäntzlich unterlassen werden,

14 tens In Kleidung soll kein Hoffarth gebraucht werden, sondern sich in der Nÿdrigkeit und Demuth befleisen, wie es schon im Ardickel brief von Jahr 1752, under sheiden und erkannt worden ist

Besonder heit die Dreÿeckigte Halstüger seiden Flör oder Kapen, oder geblümte oder Schäckigte Kleidung, oder Schnupftiger Blau oder Rothe Farben, Die Spitze oder hohen apsetz die unnothig nach der Weld Hoffarth gemachten schu, Stiefel und dergleichen.

15 tens Sollen alle Diener und Eltisten, besser aufwachen, in Lehr und Vermahnung im Tauf und Abentmahl, und Christlicher Ordnung und Straffe ohne ansehen der Persohn, und nach inhalt des Heilighen Evgeliums besser aufsicht zu haben wan dan Ein Diener in seiner Gemeinde nicht könde durch komen solte er um hülfe ruffen in anderen unsere Gemeinden es ist ihm Hülf versprochen.

16 tens Knecht und Mägt so Brüder und Schwestern beÿ der Gemeinde sein sollen vor anderen Dienst botten aufgenomen werden und sollen sich nicht zu andere Glaubens genossen Verdingen. — Diese 16 Ardickel biss hieher geschriben, kan und soll ein jeder Diener alle Jahr seiner Gemeinde Vor lessen vor dem Brodbrechen oder Abendmahl unsers Herren Jesu Christi.

Die Namen der Diener und Eltisten der Gemeinden.

Mümpelgarter gemein
Hanss Richer,
Hanss Roth

Münster gemein
Petter Klopfystein
Michael Müller

Münnicher gemein
Petter Kauffman

Colmar gemein
Nickolaus Blank
Hanss Rupp
Bensz Stucky

Markircher gemein
Jacob Bachman,
Heinrich Goldschmit

Solmer gemein
Hanss Rubÿ
Jacob Kupferschmit

Lotringer gemein
Nickolaus Shungrig
Joseph Gascho

Hochbarger gemein
Jacob Müller

Strasburger gemein
Christian Rupp

Stutter Gemein
Christian Naffziger
Nickolaus Schertz

Zwey bruger gemein
Jacob Tedweiler
Andreas Bamberger
Jacob Bachman

Frumspberger gemein
Michael Schantz
Isac Hochstettler
Christian Yoder

Essinger gemein
Hanss Naffzeiger
Christian Erismann
Jacob Ullman
Christian Naffziger

Hoffstetter gemein
Andreas Imhoff
Christian Schantz

Münsterer gemein
Christian Yoder
Christian Gingerich

Darmstatter gemein
Christian Naffziger
Petter Naffziger

Weisenburger gemein
Petter Schantz
Hanss Naffziger

Durlacher gemein
Jacob Eckle ist 79 Jahr alt

Waltecker gemein
Christian Gingrig
Johanes Schwartzendruber

Lemberger gemein haben dieses auch vor gültig angenomen
Joseph Mündlein
Christian Albrecht
Christian Suder
Johan Maurer

Littauer gemein haben dieses
auch vor gültig angenomen
Christian Graber
Christian Stucky
Johanes Flickinger
Dubnower gemein haben
dieses auch vor gültig angenomen
Joseph Schrag
Hans Albrecht
Abgeschrieben von mir
Jacob Graber in Michals Dorff
der 8 ten November 1824
Jahr
Jacob Graber

Disses Sreiben wurde von Johan Nafziger von Esigen bey Landau geschriben (in Deutschland) und den Bruder auf ihr begeren nach Hollant geschikt als eine Vorm oder Vorschrift im hause Gottes welches nacher nach Rusland gezorgen seind, und anno 1874 nach Nortammerika aus wanderten und jetz ville davon im Turner Koundi.* Dokoda wonhaft sein. wo ich das Jacob Grabers Eigen Hendige abschrift von seinen Kinder erhilt als ich im October 1876 in Dogeda auf besuch war und deser abschrift aufs neie abgeschriben zu Hopedale, Tazwel Koundi Illinois** ausgeferdigt den 24 Abil 1879 Christian Naffziger†

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*Turner County, Dakota. Dakota was not divided in two states at that time; it is South Dakota now.

**Hopedale, Tazewell County, Illinois

†The Preceding two pages were added and written by my father Christian Naffziger

The above annotations were written by me, April 15th, 1936, Andrew Nafziger, Hopedale, Illinois.

Copied for the Mennonite Historical Library, from the manuscript in possession of Andrew Nafziger, Hopedale, Illinois, March 19, 1937, by John E. Coffman.

EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 106)

Two Interesting and Significant Documents Which Have Recently Come to light are presented in this issue of the Review. The first is a personal letter of considerable length written by John H. Oberholtzer, who was responsible for the first major schism in American Mennonite history. The letter was written within two years after the break and is valuable for the light it throws on the causes of the schism. It is of course to some extent a partisan interpretation yet it is worth while to see the great schism of 1847 through the eyes of one who was a major participant. The second document, a short manuscript by Johannes Nafziger, a noted Amish Mennonite bishop in South Germany in the last half of the eighteenth century, and "An Amish Church Discipline of 1779," is valuable for the account which it gives of the method of observance of certain ordinances by the European Amish congregations and the general position of the Amish group on certain points of doctrine and practice. But no less valuable is the list of Amish Mennonite ministers of 1779, classified according to the congregations which they served. The list presents practically a complete summary of all the Amish Mennonite congregations of Europe at that time.